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NATHAN
HALE

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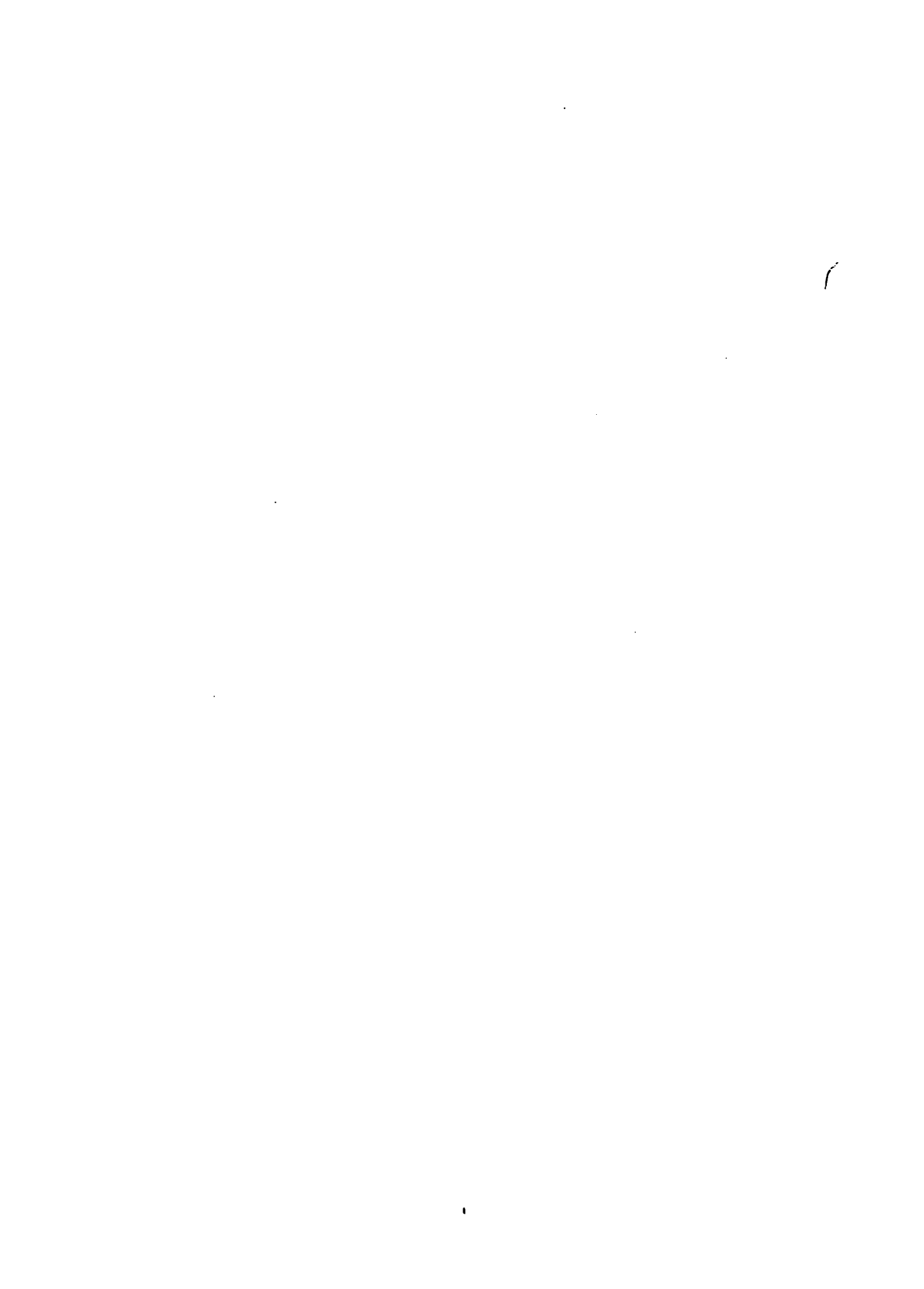
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NATHAN HALE

1776



My Brother,

I have a word to write and a minute to write it in. I received yours of yesterday this morning. Agreeable to your desire I will endeavour get the cloth and carry it over Saturday. I have no news.

No liberty-pole is erected or eriting here; but the people seem much more frightened than they were before the alarm. Payson Peters of Hebron, I hear, has had a second visit paid him by the sons of liberty in Winham. His treatment, and the concessions he made I have not as yet heard. I have not heard from home since I came from there.

Your loving Brother

Nathan Hale.

M^r E Hale of Lynn.

Nathan Hale to his Brother Gideon

1776

Collection of Rev. Howard Everett Hale

Dear Brother,

I have a word to write and a minute to write it in. I received yours of yesterday this morning. Agreeable to your desire I will endeavour get the cloth and carry it over Saturday. I have no news.

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Your loving Brother

Nathan Hale.

M^{rs} E. Hale Lyman

Nathan Hale to his Brother Enoch

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Genealogy of Rev. Edward Everett Hale

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NATHAN HALE

1776

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMORIALS

BY

HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A. M.



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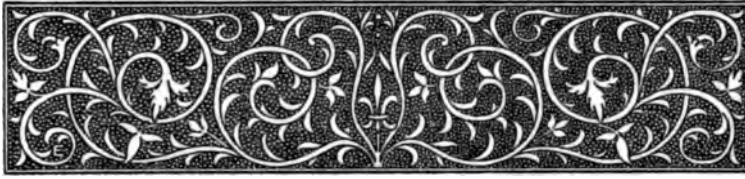
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

FOR the earliest "Life" of Nathan Hale we are indebted to the late Mr. I. W. Stuart, of Hartford, who was fortunately drawn to the subject some fifty years ago, when sufficient material for a beginning was conveniently at hand, and when it was still possible to glean from personal recollections. His work, which appeared in two editions in 1856, has long been out of print, and in the interval our knowledge of Hale has widened.

The main source of new information is what we may now describe as Hale's correspondence, only a portion of which fell under the eye of, or was utilized by, Stuart. Limited in amount as this may appear to be, it is more than would be looked for in view of the fate that has befallen so much of the manuscript literature of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. Of the letters of many another bright spirit of that time not a line remains. In the case of Hale we must deem ourselves happy that at least ten of his own letters have been preserved. Stuart produced four, with extracts from two others. Lossing found one at a later date, and in the present work three more are added



Nathan Hale to his Brother Gideon

1776

Transcribed by Michael H. Hart, 1971



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Vertical line of text on the left side of the page.

Curved line of text on the left side of the page.

Nathan Hale to his Brother Enoch

1776

Edited by Rev. Edward James Hale

the old town which most of all we would wish to read. In its very retirement the spot recalls the self-centered life of the community of colonial times, in which plain and honest people predominated, who filled out the round of daily duties as one of the objects of their existence, who held views on questions of the day and whose higher care was so to live that they might be gathered to their fathers. Hale sprung from a community like this. It was a society, not any wise exceptional, from which it was possible for individual members, young or old, to pass out into more absorbing spheres and act a great part as ingenuously as they might have acted a lesser one at home, quite unconscious of or indifferent to the fact that the world was looking on.

The simple and yet impressive inscription on this headpiece may serve as a starting-point or text for the biographer:

Durable stone preserve the monumental record.
Nathan Hale, Esq., a Capt. in the army of the
United States, who was born June 6th, 1755,
and received the first honors of Yale College,
Sept., 1773, resigned his life a sacrifice to his
Country's liberty at New York, Sept. 22nd,
1776. Etatis 22^d.

There is more to the inscription referring to his parents and a younger brother, but in the case of Nathan, those who knew him emphasize the two

salient facts of his brief life, that in two fields in which he had been left to his own resources, in college and in his country's service, he fulfilled all and more than could be expected of him. The headstone tells us of a young man of gifts and purpose and promise, which the record from every other source amply confirms.

As for our special and public interest in Hale, it centers in the last twenty days of his life. It is the interest which common humanity feels and expresses in an act of rare devotion, where ~~the act~~ is performed less from impulse than in response to the call of duty fortified by calm reflection and resolutely followed to the end. There is also added the charm of his character and his youth. Scarcely turned the age of twenty-one, he rose to the demands of an extreme occasion and played the man. It was in those closing days, after more than a year's routine in the army, that he seems to have become newly impressed with his obligations to the cause he was engaged in. Instead of waiting for opportunities of service, he now began to seek them, when, unexpectedly, an opportunity more ominous than attractive presented itself which he felt that he must accept irrespective of consequences. In accepting it he sealed his fate. Whatever sentiment may attach to the particular mission he undertook, we justly regard his sacrifice as an ideal act of patriotism. With a touching and noble expression of

regret that he could do no more, he surrendered in his country's behalf the most that a man can give—his life and his good name.

Regarding his previous career there would be little more to say of him under ordinary circumstances that could not be said of many other young men of his day, and which is usually left unsaid. History, however, reserves the shining examples to herself, and frequently makes one heroic episode consecrate a lifetime. So Hale becomes in a way endeared to us through all his years. The story of the youth who could die so bravely and unselfishly can never lose its interest and attraction, especially if it goes far toward explaining the end; and enough of detail survives to enable us to follow it with a fair degree of consistency, and to present the picture with some approach to the real outlines. More than enough exists to reassure us, were that necessary, that posterity has made no mistake in its estimate of his personal worth or recognition of his views of duty and service, and that the tributes and honors to his memory are rightly bestowed.

If we adopt a favorite method and presume to account in part for the qualities which Hale exhibited through the lives that had been lived before him, the subject will present few difficulties. There are no gaps in the record of his lineage. Both in the paternal and maternal lines it can be traced continuously to our American beginnings. It seems

Hale Headstone, South Coventry Cemetery



Double Stone preserve the monument
for record. Nathaniel Hale Esq. a
Capt. in the army of the United
States who was born June 6th 1735
and received the first honors of Yale
College Sept. 1773. resigned his life a
sacrifice to his country's liberty at
New York Sept. 22nd 1776. Etatis 22^{ae}.
Mr. Richard Hale Jun^r born Feb. 20th
1767 died of a consumption in the
Island of St. Eustatia Feb. 11th 1793.
26th 27 Years they were sons of Deac
Richard & Mrs. Elizabeth Hale of Cov-
erly. Two Daughters of Mr. Richard
Hale Jun^r and Mrs. Mary Hale one
named Mary born July 6th 1787 and
died Dec. 10th 1791 the other Polly
born Jan. 25th 1792 and died Oct. 2^o
1793. Their bodies sleep beneath
this monument.



likewise to contain its full proportion of individual histories, in which one may detect a thread of family characteristics or gauge the blood and fiber of the stock represented. As in a hundred other cases, also, here and there, in the direct and collateral branches, at different points and in different generations, we meet with some fine development. Some strain of superiority or rare worth will be found asserting itself in the person of a distinguished judge, an eminent divine, a public benefactor, or again in the person of a youthful patriot. Ancestry in those days meant much. The good people not only believed in the transmission of qualities and observed resemblances, but they highly valued the living influence of one generation upon another—an influence which modern conditions are gradually lessening. Neighbors then, more often than not, were relatives. Hale could remember his great-grandfather, and of his grandmother's graces and guardianship over him he himself speaks with appreciation and feeling. There is material here for the study of heredity and the influence or predominance of individualism in our national growth.

The ships that sailed into Massachusetts Bay in the memorable years between 1630 and 1640 brought over what local historians like to call much "precious freight." They brought more than one stout heart and devoted group, which Old England could ill afford to spare, but in whom New Eng-

land found her making. Among these first comers — commonwealth builders as they were to prove — were the ancestors of Nathan Hale. The names of his father, Richard Hale, and his mother, Elizabeth Strong, take us back to their great-grandparents, the Hales and the Strongs, who followed Governor Winthrop from England to Boston to help break ground for the new settlements on the Charles River and the Connecticut. In later years their names appear again at this point in the wilderness or that town on the coast, showing that they took their part abreast with the others in the active work of colonization.

On the father's side the immigrant was Robert Hale, who came of the old and knighted family of Hales in Kent. That he cared little for crests or coats of arms and much more for a new start in life and a freer atmosphere may perhaps be inferred from his leaving England at one of the earliest opportunities. Making Charlestown, Massachusetts, his permanent home, he assisted in founding the church there in 1632, and became deacon, selectman, ensign, and surveyor. Evidently an energetic and thrifty individual — in occupation a blacksmith — he kept increasing his acres until he owned fields and lots on Charlestown Neck, along the Mystic River, and adjoining the roads in the vicinity which were to become the scene of some lively warfare in 1775. One of his neighbors, following him two

or three years later, was that George Bunker whose famous hill stands in the new world for all and more than Marathon's mound has so long stood in the old. It was to remain for a descendant of his in the fifth generation—the young captain of 1776—to assist in ridding the ancestral farm of an enemy's presence. Robert Hale's prosperity and intelligence no doubt led him to share in the desire which the leading colonists felt to educate preachers for their multiplying churches on their own soil, and we presently find him sending his eldest son, John, to Harvard College.

This was the Rev. John Hale, graduated in 1657, who was the first and long-settled pastor at Beverly, just beyond Salem, Massachusetts. He is described as a representative man, of recognized abilities, generous disposition, public-spirited, and, of course, a Calvinist of the prevailing robust type. The occasional hardships and misfortunes of his people he made his own. In 1676, when King Philip's war caused distress, he directed the selectmen of the parish to dispose of £6, about one twelfth of his year's salary, for the general defense. In 1690, he went as chaplain on Phips' disastrous expedition against Quebec, not only to fight the annoying Frenchman, but also to watch over a company of his own young parishioners. Inevitably, with Salem so near, he was identified with the witchcraft trials, but latterly, through a personal

experience, was convinced of the grave error of the proceedings, and in 1697 issued a "Modest Inquiry" into the nature of the delusion. "Such," he writes, "was the darkness of that day, the tortures and lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of former precedents, that we walked in the clouds and could not see our way;" but, as he continues in another connection, "observing the events of that sad catastrophe, Anno 1692, I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by scanning, to question, and by questioning at length to reject many of them." His revulsion against the painful business, even though partial, could only have deepened his human sympathies and drawn him nearer to his flock. Upon his death or earlier, his family, as in so many other instances, dispersed to find new fields. One son remained at Beverly, another became a pastor and settled at Ashford, Connecticut, and a third son, Samuel, moved along the coast, first to Newburyport and then to Portsmouth.

The line we are following comes down through this Samuel Hale. There is little recorded of him, but it is to be noticed that, like his father and grandfather, he was represented by a son at Harvard, also named Samuel, who remained at Portsmouth, and of whom we shall hear again as a good citizen, defender of his country, and notable schoolmaster. Another son, named Richard, of more interest to

us, fell into the general drift, as it would appear, looked about for richer soil, perhaps a less rigorous climate, and with other wide-awake farmers settled in a new locality. About 1744, a young, unmarried man, he found his way into Connecticut and made choice of his future home in the town of Coventry, some twenty miles east of Hartford. This Richard, fourth from the immigrant, was the father of our Nathan Hale.

Coventry, Connecticut, Nathan's birthplace, was a town laid out in 1708, by authority of the General Assembly of the colony, from a tract acquired by private proprietors from the tribe of Mohegan Indians. It had been deeded by the sachem "Joshua" to residents of Hartford, who offered its farm lands and plots to new settlers. The older towns had been settled by groups of families as a measure of safety, while the later ones depended more on individual comers. But they all grew apace, some towns throwing out others beyond them and within easy reach—the meeting-house always the center—until in the brief period of one hundred and fifty years, or by the time of the Revolution, the population of New England had increased to over seven hundred thousand, compactly placed, self-governed, homogeneous, and fit to enter upon national life. For these reasons this section could do more and suffered less than other colonies in the struggle for independence whenever the enemy threatened it with vengeance.

And how these people, we may note in passing, seem to have clung even in the third generation to the traditions of home life in the mother-country! It was no mere coincidence that the Connecticut Assembly named the town in question after old Coventry in England. The town names in the central and eastern counties in this colony, as in Massachusetts, and in scarcely less degree in other colonies, tell of the genuine interest they long retained in the birthplaces of their grandparents, whatever they may have thought of revenue acts, commercial monopoly, and ministerial appointments; and in nearly every household could have been found, as heirlooms distributed by gift or the wills of the first settlers, more than one tangible piece of evidence that Old England was not altogether forgotten by the New. So not only will one see on the map the names of Ashford and Bolton and Canterbury and Chatham and Chester; of Colchester, Coventry, Derby, Durham, Essex, Glastonbury, and Guilford; of Hartford, Kent, Lyme, Milford, New Haven, and New London; of Norwalk, Norwich, Pomfret, Preston, Stamford, Stratford, Windsor, and Woodstock; but in their homesteads he would have seen at that date the chairs and chests, the books and pieces of plate, the spoons, dishes, buckles, and quilts, and the family Bible, with its precious record of births, marriages, and deaths, which their possessors prized for their ancestral associations across the sea.

Upon Hale's mother's side the story of descent is in some respects a repetition of his father's. That young Nathan himself would have dwelt with a most affectionate interest on what he knew of it may be gathered from some of the last expressions we have from his pen. To his brother Enoch he wrote from camp: "This will probably find you in Coventry; if so, remember me to all my friends, particularly belonging to the family. Forget not frequently to visit and strongly to represent my duty to our good grandmother Strong. Has she not repeatedly favored us with her tender, most important advice? The natural tie is sufficient, but increased by so much goodness, our gratitude cannot be too sensible." Hale's mother was not then living, but in her mother, as just described, we doubtless see the temperament which ruled her own household. That she was gentle, true, and watchful may be readily assumed, and perhaps we perceive some of her stronger traits of character reflected and emphasized in those of her son. "Our good grandmother Strong" draws us equally to the youth whose love and remembrance were deep and manly, and to the lineage which produced such womanhood. But the story is not exceptional. The Strongs, like the Hales, were a typical family through whom, in connection with the many others with corresponding or varying records, we are enabled to observe the working of domestic and social influences in colonial life.

The head of the line here was Elder John Strong, who in the spring of 1630 sailed from Plymouth, England, in the ship *Mary and John* and helped in the founding of Dorchester, south of Boston. His numerous descendants—quite a remarkable list—are scattered to-day throughout the country. Passing on to Taunton and then to Windsor, Connecticut, he returned to Massachusetts in 1659, and with a few others, for the third time, started a new settlement, which became Northampton. His grandsons, Joseph and Elnathan, settled in Connecticut, the former at Coventry, about 1715, twenty or thirty years before Richard Hale. This Joseph, known as Justice Joseph Strong, grew up with the place and became a leading townsman, filling the offices of treasurer and justice of the peace for many years and representing Coventry in the General Assembly for sixty-five sessions. Vigorous, both mentally and physically, he could preside at a town meeting in his ninetieth year. He was succeeded in some of his offices and a portion of his lands by his son, also Joseph, generally called Captain Joseph Strong. In 1724 this Joseph married his second cousin, Elizabeth Strong, daughter of Preserved Strong, the “grandmother” referred to above; and it was their eldest daughter, again Elizabeth, fifth from the immigrant, who became the wife of Richard and the mother of Nathan Hale.

Hale's immediate ancestors were thus among the

first inhabitants and co-builders of his native place, and exercised no little influence on the gathering community. It had received its name in 1711, and by 1775 it ranked as a considerable town in the colony. Success seems to have attended the enterprise and hard labors of these families. From the town records we learn that as early as 1724 Justice Strong was able to turn over to his son, Captain Strong, a farm of ninety acres, in consideration of "parental love and affection," and that Richard Hale, in 1745, could purchase from Talcott and Lathrop, apparently two of the original proprietors of the Coventry tract, an extensive farm of two hundred and forty acres. These lands lay in the southern part of the survey, or in what is now the separate town of South Coventry. The Strong homestead, in which Hale's mother was probably born, was pulled down a number of years ago, while the Hale homestead, which still stands in good condition, is understood not to be the original dwelling in which Nathan was born, but one dating from about the beginning of the Revolution and with which he was familiar.

Of Hale's boyhood and home life we could expect to know but little so far as records are concerned. Those years, and indeed the round of domestic experiences, were much alike in the colony circles. From glimpses, traditions, and fragmentary diaries a picture could be drawn which, in its

perspective, would do for all. Early marriages were the rule. Hale's father, born February 28, 1717, was twenty-nine; his mother, born February 7, 1727, was nineteen. They were married in Coventry, May 2, 1746, and lived and died in the place. Their son Nathan—to whose memory these pages are dedicated—was born June 6, 1755, the fifth boy and sixth child in the family of twelve. He had eight brothers and three sisters, two dying in infancy. David and Jonathan were twins. His elder sister, being, like her mother and grandmother, the eldest daughter, bore the same name, Elizabeth. The other children were Samuel, John, Joseph, Enoch, Richard, Billy, Joanna, and Susanna, several of whom married and have descendants living. Nathan may have been named after one of the Nathans either on the Strong or Hale side of the house, with the Scriptural association also in mind.

On an ample farm in high and rolling country near the beautiful Lake Waugaubaug of the Mohegans, and with good neighbors about, the lines of the family seem to have been pleasantly cast. The responsibilities were great, but bravely met by the parents. Of the head of the house it is said that "never a man worked so hard for both worlds as Deacon Hale." The town and ecclesiastical society confided in him. He held offices from each. For a few terms in succession the Coventry deputies to the Connecticut Assembly were Hale and



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Hale Monument and Homestead, South
Coventry, Connecticut



From Hale's monument to the homestead the distance is about three miles. Near the former, facing the town green and overlooking the lake, stood the old Congregational meeting-house which Hale's family attended. It was burned down several years ago. The parsonage was a few rods south of it. As Hale's father and grandfather Strong were deacons of the church, and the pastor, Dr. Huntington, Nathan's instructor in his preparation for college, the boy was surrounded by all the religious influences which New England Congregationalism sought to extend. His career, brief as it was, shows how far his character was molded by them.

Strong. Of the mother we have already formed an impression—certainly a domestic and devoted woman, the fitting link between the “good grandmother” and more than one superior child and descendant. The six things such a family, young and old, would have to think of and live for the year round were home, farm, church, school, chores, play. Stuart, Hale’s first biographer, describes it as “a quiet, strict, godly household, where the Bible ruled and family prayers never failed, nor was grace ever omitted at meals, nor work done after sundown on a Saturday night.” One item would stagger the modern parent—not only clothes for twelve, but the cloth must be spun at home! It was so at the Hales’. Work on the farm should have gone along handily, as there were boys enough to call upon. All, of course, had some schooling. Whether Nathan and the others attended the original Coventry school-house, which, by town-meeting vote, was to be twenty feet long and eighteen feet wide, or a later school-house, now transformed into a dwelling, is uncertain. By the same vote the schoolmaster’s wages were fixed at eleven pounds for the winter quarter, and the pupils’ enjoyment of the term depended upon his disposition and the depth of the snow. The pastimes were the pastimes of to-day in the farming towns. “Nathan”—quoting Stuart again—“early exhibited a fondness for those rural sports to which such a birthplace and scenery na-

turally invited him. He loved the gun and fishing-rod, and exhibited great ingenuity in fashioning juvenile implements of every sort. He was fond of running, leaping, wrestling, firing at a mark, throwing, lifting, playing ball. In consequence, his infancy, at first feeble, soon hardened by simple diet and exercise into a firm boyhood. And with the growth of his body his mind, naturally bright and active, developed rapidly. He mastered his books with ease, was fond of reading out of school, and was constantly applying his information." If, according to present standards, the boys' acquirements of that day were simple, perhaps their absorptive powers were more active and tenacious. In those interesting years young Nathan and his fellows could not but have added to the "three R's" and their accompaniments the more valuable impressions and knowledge—more valuable in view of the great struggle they were soon to enter—to be derived from ordinary listening and observation when their fathers and elder brothers returned from the campaigns against the French to tell of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Quebec, or when, a little later, the Stamp Act brought them all to their feet in protest and revolt.

When Hale was twelve years old he lost his mother. She died April 21, 1767, at the age of forty. We infer that his future career had already been decided upon, or at least that he was to receive

a college education, and no doubt the boy was happy in the prospect. If, according to early recollections of the family, his mother was more anxious and urgent than others in the matter, it is not difficult to see what influences beyond her own wishes and perhaps intuitive appreciation of Nathan's character and talents may have had weight. The representation of college-bred men among the Strongs in Connecticut was increasing. Hale's own uncle, his mother's younger brother, Rev. Joseph Strong, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1749, was at that date the settled pastor over the village church of Salmon Brook in Granby, Connecticut, northwest of Coventry, while Rev. Nathan Strong, class of 1742, his mother's second cousin, was settled over the north parish of his own town, but a few miles away. The latter's son, also Nathan, who was to become a distinguished divine in the State, was just then, in 1767, a student in the college, where we shall meet with him a little later as one of Hale's instructors. Another son, Joseph, was preparing to enter the same institution. Relationships of all degrees were made much of in those days, the more so where the relatives were parish ministers; and when the Rev. "Uncle" Strong or the Rev. "Cousin" Strong was housed over the Sabbath at Deacon Strong's or Deacon Hale's, it was an event of some social consequence. On these and like occasions the rising generation would come under

casual inspection and comment, and if some youth in the circle seemed to show both spiritual and intellectual promise, he might be marked as one to succeed the learned elders, and his parents be advised to enter him for the profession. The ranks of that influential colonial body, the New England clergy, were filled much in this way, and in the decisions the mothers' views and hopes for their sons were not to be ignored.

However it may have been in this case, we have the fact that among the boys of the family Nathan and his next elder brother, Enoch, were to go to college. Whether they were then, at that early age, expecting to enter the ministry, we cannot say. There was time enough for a final decision later, even after graduation. The present task was preparation. Except in a few of the larger towns where preparatory schools existed, the boys of that time were generally fitted for college by the minister of their parish. Benjamin Tallmadge, one of Hale's classmates, states in his "Autobiography" that he and other boys were so prepared by his father, pastor at Brookhaven, Long Island. Hale's pastor was the Rev. Dr. Joseph Huntington, brother of the Hon. Samuel Huntington, subsequently one of the presidents of the Continental Congress and Governor of Connecticut. He was one of the more prominent of the colony ministers, inclined to liberality in his theological views and pronounced

in his sympathies with America in the Revolutionary struggle. Reviewing events in an election sermon after the war, he said: "We once loved Britain most dearly, but Britain the tyrant we could not love. Our souls abhorred her measures. We rose from the dust, where we had been long prostrate. Our breasts glowed with noble ardor. We invoked the God of our fathers and we took the field." The old parsonage still stands in altered shape on Coventry hill, and there without doubt young Nathan and his brother Enoch regularly recited to Mr. Huntington from such Latin authors as Eutropius, Nepos, Virgil, Cicero, and Horace—John Trumbull, the painter, who fitted at Norwich about the same period, stating that these were the books he had to study—while at times the parson must have wandered from the lessons to denounce the policy of the mother-country toward the colonies and inspire the boys with his own vision of the greatness of the new nation destined to grow up here and which it would be theirs to live in. In September, 1769, the two brothers entered the freshman class at Yale College, Nathan then being in his fifteenth year.





II

HALE IN COLLEGE—FOUR YEARS AT YALE (1769-1773)



His new sphere, in the student world now opening to him, it becomes possible to form some sort of personal acquaintance with Hale. Here through the record as well as incidentally through his fellows and instructors who long cherished their recollections of him the main outlines of his course can be followed. If we have little from his own pen, if we must forego an insight into his inner self as he might have reflected it in letters or in entries of a private journal—material which seldom existed and is rarely found—we can still see and appreciate him in his surroundings. The intimate and whole-souled friendships of college days are proverbial, and Hale seems to have had his full share of them. It is from this source largely

that we are assured of his manliness, scholarship, attractive personality and the general high tone of his nature. Where he is recalled as "a much loved classmate," there is a sweetness and a value in the memory peculiarly its own; or if there are references, though brief, to his cultivated mind and generous impulses, or to his unassuming air and quiet dignity, or to his popularity as seen in the honors voted him, and again to the promise of his success in life, we have a recognized basis from which to estimate his worth. He should be understood by the student of to-day. Every college generation produces young men who impress themselves upon their associates somewhat as Hale did in his time.

In 1769, Yale College at New Haven was but a town academy compared with the spreading university now celebrating two hundred years of growth. But relatively its usefulness and influence were hardly less marked. Its president was Rev. Dr. Naph-tali Daggett. Among its different instructors were several exceptionally able men, such as John Trumbull, John Davenport, Joseph Howe, Nathan Strong and Timothy Dwight. In one year or another Hale was probably taught by all. The last three—recent graduates who had returned to be tutors at the college—gave promise of eminence which Strong and Dwight fulfilled, Dwight becoming a distinguished president of Yale and Strong a shining light of the Hartford pulpit. Howe, also a

preacher, died early, just as his talents were attracting attention. Hale notes his death in his army diary. Strong was Hale's relative and fellow-townsmen referred to in the previous chapter, with both of whom Dwight was also distantly connected as being a descendant of Elder Strong of Northampton. Our young student thus found himself, certainly in his junior and senior years, among personal friends, and in these friends he was equally fortunate in finding the best of teachers and advisers. How highly and fondly Dwight came to regard him will appear in another connection.

During Hale's course there were about one hundred students in the four classes. His own, the class of 1773, was the largest, with its thirty-six graduates. At that date three buildings stood on the college grounds. One of them remains—the dormitory, South Middle, originally called "Connecticut Hall," in which Hale must have roomed during one or more of his years. Supervision of the little community was of the parental order. There was a monastic as well as Puritan touch in the moral and religious obligations enjoined—the living of blameless lives, the reading of the Scriptures as the fountain of light and truth, and the attendance on public and private devotions. Offenses or delinquencies were punishable largely by fines—a survival of the practice in the medieval guilds and corporations—the fines ranging from a penny for

absence from morning or evening prayers to eight shillings or suspension or expulsion for repeated and glaring misdemeanors. Those were the days, too, when the most formal outward respect must be shown to the college authorities. All the students were to stand uncovered whenever the President passed along the walks, and all were to bow when he went in or out of the chapel. There were regular study hours then, when the campus was to be quiet, when singing, loud talking and "all screamings and hollowings" around the buildings were finable. The students boarded in "Commons," managed by steward and butler, and their luxuries included pipes and tobacco, cider and strong beer. The freshmen were a much abused class, their insignificance even being officially recognized. Among other indignities, they were obliged, within limits, to be waiters and messengers to upper-class men. We have a description of campus customs and college costume in the reminiscences of Oliver Wolcott, Hamilton's successor as Secretary of the Treasury, in the very summer of 1773 when Hale was about to graduate.

"I went up to college in the evening," he writes, "to observe the scene of my future exploits with emotions of awe and reverence. Men in black robes, white wigs and high cocked hats, young men dressed in camblet gowns, passed us in small groups. The men in robes and wigs I was told were professors; the young men in gowns were

students. There were young men in black silk gowns, some with bands and others without. These were either tutors in the college or resident graduates to whom the title of 'Sir' was accorded. When we entered the college yard a new scene was presented. There was a class who wore no gowns and who walked but never ran or jumped in the yard. They appeared much in awe or looked surlily after they passed by the young men habited in gowns and staves. Some of the young gownsmen treated those who wore neither hats or gowns in the yard with harshness and what I thought indignity. I give an instance: 'Nevill, go to my room, middle story of old college, No. —, and take from it a pitcher, fill it from the pump, place it in my room and stay there till my return.' The domineering young men I was told were scholars or students of the sophomore class, and those without hats and gowns and who walked in the yard were freshmen, who out of the hours of study were waiters or servants to the authority, the president, professors, tutors and undergraduates." (*Wolcott Memorial*, p. 225.)

But behind this exterior could be found that freedom, companionship and communistic enthusiasm which have always made the American student's life one of the happiest of his experiences. Those generally robust sons of colonial parents were not likely to spend four years in tame existence. The numerous offenses mentioned in the penal laws of the college show how far their spirits had to be curbed. They had their recreations, sports and occasional wild pranks; and if we read aright, they resented impositions, one instance occurring in





Hale's Book Autograph

Collection of Mr. W. F. Havemeyer

Yale College in Hale's Day

Contemporary Drawing

Satan's Sales Book

1711



Dr. Van Mastricht,

ON

REGENERATION.



Hale's day, when John Brown, of the class of 1771, afterwards a gallant officer who fell in the Revolution, was one of the leaders in a revolt against the quality, it would seem, of college "commons," and left with others until grievances were redressed.

To Hale and his brother college life must have been a constant enjoyment, and in view of their training it could have been no task for them to conform to the regulations. By the fortunate preservation of three letters from their father—plain, homely missives, with the usual distorted spelling, but very uncommon as records and valuable to us just now for their tenderness, injunctions and hard fact—we get a few glimpses of the boys in their new relations. Whether as freshmen or sophomores, they were addressed as "Dear Children," and reminded of their duties. They had written home on December 7, 1769, two months after entrance, that they were comfortably settled, and on the 26th their parent replies: "I hope you will carefully mind your studies that your time be not lost and that you will mind all the orders of Colledge with care." Above all, they were not to forget their devotions or chapel prayers. A year later he wrote in the same vein, and added: "Shun all vice, especially card-playing." The common view of this diversion was still in harmony with the spirit of the college rules of 1745, under which play at cards, dice or on a wager was subject to fine, to be fol-

lowed on the third offense by expulsion. As to a student's expenses, then as now, they were always pending, and the bills of the country boys were probably settled irregularly. Exchange and barter were much out of vogue in the larger towns, and the farmer could not pay his sons' board with the wheat in his barn. In their freshman year Richard Hale tells his children that he will send them some money soon, perhaps by "Mr. Sherman"—Roger Sherman, no doubt—when he returns from his circuit, and he inquires whether it would do to let their account run until he could go to town himself in May and clear it up. In the following year he hopes to forward what cash they need "when Sr. Strong comes to Coventry"—this clearly being their graduate cousin, "Sir" Nathan Strong, who appears to have been continuing his studies at the college before he became tutor. At vacation times their own horses would be driven down for them, or they could hire some in New Haven. The majority of Connecticut boys wore suits cut from homespun, and the Hales had theirs from Coventry. Toward the end of their sophomore year one of them was called home to be fitted to a suit, if he could obtain leave and if they hoped to have new clothes for the coming Commencement. "I sopose," writes Mr. Hale—to be spared the protest with which the suggestion would be received by the modern sophomore—"I sopose that one mea-

sure will do for both of you." During their third year an epidemic of measles broke out in the college, both boys being taken down. Tallmadge states that in his case he could do little studying during parts of his junior and senior years.

Hale made the most of the curriculum, and at the end stood among the best scholars and most popular men of his class. During the first two years there was some grinding study through "the three learned tongues"—Greek, Latin and Hebrew—with logic, rhetoric and geometry interspersed; while in the last two, natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, metaphysics and ethics completed the sum of their accomplishments. On Fridays the students, about six at a time, were to declaim before their fellows in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and "in no other language without special leave from the President." Saturday forenoons were devoted to the study of divinity. Fines followed the neglect of all exercises. In the class-rooms Enoch Hale was known as Hale *primus*, and Nathan, Hale *secundus*, a practice long continued in New England Latin grammar schools as well. That some students found the routine irksome is not surprising, and when Roger Alden afterwards wrote to Hale from his school-room that he dreaded its hours as much as ever he did "the morning prayer bell or Saturday noon recitations," his complaint was only a distant precursor of changes that were to end in the elimi-

nation of both. The prayer bell still rings, but not at half-past four A.M. in the summer time and half-past five in the winter—the startling hours when Alden and Hale heard it.

As a literary diversion the students established debating societies. Two, well known to all Yale graduates, survived —“Linonia,” founded in 1753, and “The Brothers in Unity,” in 1768. After more than a century’s existence, both have been dissolved. Former alumni, distinguished at the bar, in Congress or in the pulpit, owed something of their rhetorical training to these societies. The Hales belonged to Linonia and took an active interest in it, Nathan especially. In his junior year, 1771, he became its secretary or “scribe” and his book of well-kept minutes is still preserved in the university library. That the members improved and enjoyed themselves the entries fully bear out. Their exercises on different evenings were debates, narrations, addresses, dialogues and a system of mutual questions and answers. To better their conversation and literary style, they could criticize each other’s grammar and choice of words. On one occasion they debated the question whether it was right to enslave the African. Nathan’s name frequently appears among the speakers, as on December 23, 1771, when another member had succeeded him as scribe, “The meeting was opened with a very entertaining narration by Hale 2d;” or again, the meeting of

August 5, 1772, "closed with a speech delivered by Hale 2d." The dramatic art seems to have been in high favor with these embryo ministers, warriors and statesmen, and we find them at intervals forgetting Edwards on the Will, or Van Mastricht on Regeneration, or President Clap on the Foundation of Moral Virtue, to entertain themselves and their friends with the play of the "Conscious Lovers," or the "West Indian," or the "Toy Shop," or the "Beaux' Stratagem." In the two latter Hale took a part with éclat, while in the caste of the first were included no less a trio than "Sirs" Dwight, Davenport and Williams. The "West Indian" was announced as a new comedy to be played on the occasion of Linonia's twentieth anniversary, April 3, 1773, at the house of Mr. Thomas Atwater. The entertainment was a pronounced success. "Both the scenery and action," says the secretary, "were on all hands allowed to be superior to anything of the kind heretofore exhibited on the like occasion. The whole received peculiar beauty from the officers appearing dressed in regimentals and the actresses in full and elegant suits of lady's apparel. The last scene was no sooner closed than the company testified their satisfaction by the clapping of hands. . . . An epilogue made expressly on the occasion and delivered by Hale 2d was received with approbation." There was also a musical dialogue sung by two members "in the characters of Damon and Clora."

That Hale was held in deserved esteem by his fellows is further evidenced by the fact that he was the first chancellor, or president, of Linonia from his class. In later years, and doubtless it was so then, this was regarded as among the highest of college honors in the gift of the students. Portions of one of his addresses before the society are given in the Appendix.¹ As to his literary tastes, it would be enough to know that they were recognized and appreciated by Timothy Dwight, who, with other young instructors, was just at that time moving to raise the standard of culture at the college, especially in the direction of composition, oratory and criticism. Dwight's letter to Hale of February 20, 1776, is doubly interesting as indicating one of the methods by which an author of that day announced his efforts to the public and as hinting at his friend's intellectual bent and qualities of heart. The former was preparing to publish his epic poem, the "Conquest of Canaan," and he sought the good offices of Hale in introducing it to his acquaintances. "To a person of Mr. Hale's character," he wrote him, "motives of friendship apart, one's fondness for the liberal arts would be a sufficient excuse for calling his attention to the work ;" and he adds, "I esteem myself happy in reflecting that the person who may confer this obligation is a gentleman, of whose po-

¹ Also a word in regard to Hale's connection with Linonia's library and a note from Tallmadge.

liteness and benevolence I have already experienced so frequent and so undoubted assurances.”

Commencement day for the class of 1773 fell on September 3. It was the annual grand occasion both for college and the town, when dignitaries of the colony and the lights of its churches, together with numerous citizens, assembled in the meeting-house on the New Haven green to listen to the graduation exercises. An all-day function, it was continued as such to quite recent years, though losing its varied character. A report of it appears in *The Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy*, now one of the rarest of colonial newspapers. In the forenoon the salutatory address was delivered by John Palsgrave Wyllys, of Hartford, who, like Hale, early entered into the Revolutionary War and after fourteen years of service fell in action with the Indians on the western frontier. A “syllogistic disputation” followed, and then came a forensic debate by Messrs. Beckwith, Fairchild, Flint and Mead on the question, “Whether a large metropolis would be of public advantage to the Colony.” Messrs. Alden, Keyes and Marvin—all three to become Revolutionary officers—rendered a dialogue in English on the three learned professions, and Sir Williams delivered an English oration on Prejudice. In the afternoon Sir Davenport resumed the exercises with an English oration on the state of the private schools in Connecticut. Another syllogistic dispute—this one

in Latin — followed, and the Commencement closed with what was evidently the rest of the day — a second forensic debate by Messrs. Hale, Robinson, Sampson and Tallmadge on the then pertinent question, "Whether the Education of Daughters be not, without any just reason, more neglected than that of Sons." Quite possibly, as some writers state, Hale took the side of the daughters, with whom we know him to have been a general favorite.

As our young graduate now goes out into the world after a successful course in college, carrying with him all the honors and good wishes he could desire, he is much less the stranger to us that he would have been without this experience. We shall come to know him better during the next three years. Friends and classmates will think too highly of him not to keep up a correspondence, and it is their letters that throw the side-lights we need on his personality. Not long after his death some one of his contemporaries in New Haven, an acquaintance and probably college companion, remembered him with a eulogy in which, with due allowance for the poetic feeling and license in the case, we doubtless have a more or less faithful picture or impression of Hale. He is handed down to us by his Alma Mater, we may say, as a most attractive and superior fellow, a son of whose acquirements within her walls she was proud, and for whom an enviable future might be predicted.

“Erect and tall, his well-proportioned frame,
Vigorous and active, as electric flame;
His manly limbs had symmetry and grace,
And innate goodness marked his beauteous face;
His fancy lively, and his genius great,
His solid judgment shone in grave debate;
For erudition far beyond his years;
At Yale distinguished above all his peers;
Speak, ye who knew him while a pupil there,
His numerous virtues to the world declare;
His blameless carriage and his modest air,
Above the vain parade and idle show
Which mark the coxcomb and the empty beau;
Removed from envy, malice, pride, and strife,
He walked through goodness as he walked through life;
A kinder brother nature never knew,
A child more duteous or a friend more true.”¹

Recollections bear out this description. Those who knew him, and others who gathered details and traditions as early as 1835, tell us that he was a noticeably fine-looking youth, nearly six feet in height, broad-chested, ruddy in complexion, with expressive features, a musical voice, and a presence that was at once natural and commanding. Stories are told of his athletic skill. A happy manner, generous disposition and social aptitude graced the stronger side of his character. He was evidently mature for his years—maturer than his companions—and

¹ The poem was first published in the *American Historical Magazine* in 1836.

though not yet twenty, was about to enter active life with much of a man's equipment.

Among his New Haven friends Hale counted Dr. Æneas Munson, long a well-known physician of the place. In 1836 his son, also Dr. Æneas Munson, still remembered by old residents, wrote to the magazine referred to above: "Nathan Hale I was acquainted with from his frequent visits at my father's house, while an academical student. His own remarks and the remarks of my father left at that period an indelible impression on my mind." On one of these occasions, as Hale left the house, the elder Munson observed: "That man is a diamond of the first water, calculated to excel in any station he assumes. He is a gentleman and a scholar, and last, though not least of his qualifications, a Christian." And by way of appeal to the editor the younger doctor adds, before any memorials to their friend were erected: "Cannot you rouse the dormant energies of an ungrateful republic, in the case of Captain Hale, to mark the spot where so much virtue and patriotism moulder with his native dust?"





Statue of Holy Wisdom at Athenæum,
Hartford







III

HALE AS SCHOOLMASTER—AT EAST HADDAM AND NEW LONDON



MON graduation, or in the early fall of 1773, Nathan visited his uncle, Samuel Hale, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This was his father's brother—already mentioned—a graduate of Harvard College, who was the well-known head of the leading school in that colony, and was addressed as "Major" on account of his rank and services at Cape Breton and the siege of Louisburg. What Hale had to say of this trip and his own affairs appears in the interesting letter he afterwards wrote to Portsmouth, and from which we shall have occasion to quote. Returning to Connecticut, he followed his uncle's lines and became schoolmaster. This was the usual step before entering upon a calling. Professional departments and labyrinthian post-

graduate courses, in which the "Sirs" could continue their studies to an advanced point, were yet to be evolved as the crown of the higher education. About the most dignified position to which the teacher of that day could aspire was a tutorship at the college, and these places were not permanent. Few could look beyond the pedagogue's desk either for temporary or lifelong occupation. What Hale's future plans were beyond his schoolmaster's round is not indicated. He must have thought of the ministry and may have intended to enter it. Two works on the subject which he once owned have recently come to light. One bears the title: "Theodorus—a dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching. By Mr. David Fordyce, London, 1755." On its fly-leaf is written, *Nathan Hale's Book, 1768*—as far as known, the earliest of his autographs. This was the year before he entered college, and possibly the book was a gift to him from his pastor, or his parents, or one of the Reverend Strongs among his connections, who wished to incline him to the pulpit in his impressionable years. The other, which he had in college, is entitled: "A Treatise on Regeneration. By Peter Van Mastricht, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the Universities of Frankfurt, Duisburgh, and Utrecht. Extracted from his System of Divinity called *Theologia theoretica-practica*," etc. Its preface states that Cotton Mather, in his directions for a candidate for the

ministry, thought there was "no human composure equal to it." Here again on the fly-leaf is the similar autograph, *Nathan Hale's Book, 1771*; but if he was in the habit of poring over its contents, there is nothing to suggest it in the perfectly smooth pages and unthumbed edges of the volume.¹ It may have been a reference book which the students were expected to consult in connection with their Saturday noon divinity lectures, and which its possessor had put away for future use, perhaps in company with other early seventeenth-century authorities on the same subject. It is clear that a year later—September, 1774—Hale had not yet decided upon his future course, for at that date he was seeking his uncle's advice regarding his acceptance of a permanent position as teacher.

For the time being there were schools enough for the newly fledged graduates. In that same year—1773—Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, in reply to inquiries from one of the Secretaries of State, London, reported that the colony taxes amounted annually to about six thousand pounds, "somewhat more than one third part" of which—a good proportion—was raised by the several towns for the support of their schools. Nathan Hale found a situation at East Haddam, on the Connecticut

¹This edition was published at New Haven—"Printed and sold by Thomas and Samuel Green, in the Old-Council-Chamber." Hale's copy was secured by Mr. W. F. Havemeyer, of New York, from the famous George Brinley collection.

River, sixteen miles from its mouth; his brother Enoch, one near Windsor, east of the river; Tallmadge, one at Wethersfield, where he succeeded David Humphreys, a graduate, and subsequently aide to Washington; Marvin, one at Norwich; Alden, at New Haven; Robinson, at New Windsor. The schools they taught were of three descriptions. First, the common schools supported by the towns, generally through the machinery of the ecclesiastical societies. These were the district or parish schools, which children of all ages could attend. Second, the grammar or higher schools, which a few of the larger towns were required to maintain. Third, the private schools or academies, then slowly increasing in number. One of these was opened by Daniel Humphrey at New Haven, in 1776, for the purpose of teaching writing, arithmetic and grammar. Emphasis was to be laid on the English classics, and the pupils trained "to write their mother tongue with eloquence."

The school Hale taught was probably one of the first description—a parish or district school of East Haddam, with the school-house near the ferry or "landing," as it is called to-day. Possibly it was a private school. The house has recently passed into the hands of a patriotic society and been moved to another site on the river bank. East Haddam was also known by the contracted Indian name of Moodus, which now distinguishes the flourishing village above

it. Hale calls it "East Haddam (alias Modos)." His term here was a comparatively short one of four or five months, dating from about October, 1773, to the middle of March, 1774. Of this, his first experience, we know almost nothing. The school could have differed little from the one in which he was taught himself at Coventry, nor did the work vary greatly from what we find him doing in his next school at New London, save that he probably taught less Latin, if any at all. His pupils were of the same grades as elsewhere, from primary children to young persons of his own age, and all learning the usual English branches. Within the school-room it was not an uncommon arrangement to have the scholars seated on long benches fronting flat desks fastened in the walls. School-books were rarities then, Dilworth's or some other author's spelling-lessons and the Psalter being about the only ones in general use in the country districts. Blackboards and globes were almost unknown. Noah Webster tells us that before the Revolution all writing exercises and operations in arithmetic were worked out on paper. The teacher wrote the "copies" and read off the sums. Frequently the entire school studied aloud; and thus, with other primitive methods and simple exercises, the early required education was instilled. More than one of Hale's boys is doubtless pictured to the life in Trumbull's "Progress of Dulness":

“There ’s not a lad in town so bright,
 He ’ll cypher bravely, write and read,
 And say his catechism and creed,
 And scorns to hesitate or falter
 In Primer, Spelling-book or Psalter.”

We may be confident, however, that in his humorous description of the average district pedagogue Trumbull could not have had in mind so bright a youth as Hale, whom he had known and may have taught at Yale :

“He tries, with ease and unconcern,
 To teach what ne’er himself could learn,
 Gives law and punishment alone,
 Judge, jury, bailiff, all in one,
 Holds all good learning must depend
 Upon the rod’s extremest end.”


Although East Haddam was a town with agricultural and shipping interests, Hale seems to have found it an isolated place, and this may account in part for his brief stay there. Missing old friends, he was, nevertheless, certain to make new ones; and he could say no more of his agreeable situation at New London afterwards than that it was “somewhat preferable” to that at East Haddam. Mail facilities were irregular, and his acquaintances appear to have heard from him but seldom. His classmate Robinson runs him pleasantly on his disappearance thus :

“I am at a loss to determine whether you are yet in this land of the living, or removed to some far distant and to us unknown region; but this much I am certain of, that if you departed this life at *Modos*, you stood but a narrow chance for gaining a better.” Stuart gives the recollection of one old lady who went to Hale’s school in this river town. “Everybody loved him,” she said; “he was so sprightly, intelligent and kind, and withal so handsome.”

Hale had not been teaching many weeks at East Haddam before he sought or was invited to a more promising post. “I love my employment,” he was to write a year later; and if a strong liking for it had already developed, with an intuitive sense that he was born to the work, a field with larger prospects would be his ambition. Early in December we find him corresponding with Mr. Timothy Green, of New London, one of the proprietors of the new “Union School” just then established at that place, respecting his engagement as master for the spring term of the following year. Hearing of this opportunity, Hale evidently interested his old pastor, Rev. Mr. Huntington, in the matter, and secured from him the necessary letters of introduction and recommendation, on the receipt of which Mr. Green wrote to him, December 21: “I have shewed Mr. Huntington’s Letter and sample of your writings enclosed in it to several of the Proprietors of

the School in this Town, who have desired me to inform you that there is a probability of their agreeing with you to keep the School; and for that reason desire that you would not engage yourself elsewhere till you hear further from them." Another letter from Mr. Green appears in the Appendix.

The "sample" of handwriting referred to was the *sine quâ non* and passport to position required of every young schoolmaster of the period, and in the nature of the case was quite superior to their ordinary chirography. The few letters we have from Hale compare very favorably in appearance with those of his correspondents, and that he could set a "copy" which his pupils would be proud to equal may be seen in his call for a school meeting February 22, 1775, and especially in the signature of his letter to his classmate Mead—amusingly affected, no doubt—which still stands at the bottom of the page with the precise regularity and shading of an engraved hand. This accomplishment, so far as it went, helped to tell in Hale's favor, though he was not to have the school immediately. The proprietors, needing a teacher at once, employed Phineas Tracy, of Norwich, for three months, at the same time holding out encouragement to our East Haddam candidate. On February 4 Mr. Green again requested him to wait, this time for "one week more," before accepting any other place; and on the 10th formally notified him of his engagement for one



Hale's Letter with the Schoolmaster Autograph
(page 44)

Collection of Major Godfrey A. S. Wieners

I have a very convenient school-house, and the
people are kind and sociable. — I pro-
mise myself some more satisfaction in writing
and receiving than I have as yet had. I know of no
stated communication, but without any
doubt, opportunities will be much more
frequent, than while I was at Medes. —
For the greater part of the last year, we were good
neighbours, and I always thought, very good
friends. Surely so good on my part, that
it would be matter of real grief to me, should
~~it cease.~~ — The only means for maintain-
ing it is constant writing: in the prac-
tice of which I am ready most heartily to
concur with you; and do hope ever to re-
main, as at present,

New London, May
21 1794,

Your Friend and
Constant Well-wisher

Nathan Hale

M. Mead



quarter, at the rate of two hundred and twenty dollars per annum.

The Union School at New London, of which Hale now took charge—"about the middle of March," when Tracy's term closed—may have been modeled upon the older and quite famous academy at Lebanon, Connecticut, which Master Nathan Tisdale, a graduate of Harvard College, had been long and successfully conducting. The proprietors of the latter included twelve well-to-do residents of the town, with Governor Trumbull as one of their number, who wished to give their own children, and such others as might join them, the advantages of a select and superior schooling. In their agreement we read that "A Latin scholar is to be computed at 35s., old tenor, for each quarter, and a reading scholar at 30s. for each quarter—each one to pay according to the number of children that he sends, and the learning they are improved upon, whether the learned tongues, reading and history, or reading and English only." Master Tisdale's school was liberally patronized, but in one respect it would not have appealed to the modern youth. The artist Trumbull, who attended it, tells us that it offered no vacations, "in the long idleness and dissipations of which the labors of preceding months might be half forgotten."

Here was an opportunity for a young schoolmaster to set a new enterprise on its feet, and Hale

succeeded. In their petition for incorporation, the proprietors of the academy state that they "have at great cost erected a school-house for the advancement of learning," and hired and paid teachers, and they were anxious to get the right man for master and retain him. Not six months had elapsed before they were offering Hale increased wages and a permanent position. The school was incorporated in October, 1774, and one of the most interesting memorials presented in these pages is the facsimile of a call issued through Hale for one of the early meetings of its proprietors, a complete list of whose names we have here for the first time. They were twenty-four in all, and represented the wealth and intelligence of New London—the Saltonstalls, Winthrops, Laws, Mumfords, Coits, Shaws, Richards, Greens, and others of influence. Their children formed the body of the school, and Hale found his time fully occupied in their instruction. We know something about it from his own pen. On September 24, 1774, he wrote to his uncle at Portsmouth: "My own employment is at present that you spent your days in. I have a school of thirty-two boys, about half Latin, the rest English. The salary allowed me is 70£ per annum. In addition to this I have kept during the summer, a morning school, between the hours of five and seven, of about twenty young ladies; for which I have received 6s. a scholar by the quarter. The people with

whom I live are free and generous—many of them gentlemen of sense and merit. They are desirous that I would continue and settle in the school; and propose a considerable increase in wages. I am much at a loss whether to accept their proposals. Your advice in the matter coming from an Uncle, and from a man who has spent his life in the business, would, I think, be the best I could possibly receive.” To his classmate Mead he gives a few of the same facts, and to Dr. Munson, at New Haven, he wrote two months later: “I am happily situated here. I love my employment; find many friends among strangers; have time for scientific study, and seem to fill the place assigned me with satisfaction.” What Hale meant by scientific study was general reading, a sort of culture course apart from theology or law, and in pursuing it he seems to have had a small library of his own to draw upon. Such works as Pope’s “Iliad” and the “History of the Seven Years’ War,” in five volumes, were to be sent him, his brother Enoch writes, from “among the books” at his home.

Hale’s occupation was clearly congenial to him, as it seems not to have been to his classmate Alden, who disliked being confined to particular hours, or have his morning reading interrupted by the discovery that it was “just fifty-nine minutes after eight o’clock.” The philosophical Robinson found that teaching deprived him of the pleasure of many

agreeable rides he had counted on taking about the country, and, as he writes to Hale, prevented him from enjoying "the company of yourself with some other special friends." Marvin wrote later that with him "teaching, scolding, flogging, is the continual round"; but the war had then opened and he longed to be in the field.

Of the impression Hale made as a teacher some recollections remain. One or two of his old pupils were living when Stuart wrote. The venerable Colonel Samuel Green, of Hartford, could recall his tact and amiability, his wonderful control over boys without severity of manner, and his universal popularity. Mrs. Elizabeth Poole, who lived in the same family with Hale in New London, testified in 1837 to his abilities, successful methods, fine appearance and manners, and superior mold. A letter from one of his young boys, Robert Latimer, written to Hale while he was in camp, has been preserved. "I think myself," he writes, "under the greatest obligations to you for your care and kindness to me. . . . Though I have been so happy as to be favoured with your instructions, you can't, Sir, expect a finished letter from one who has as yet practised but very little this way, especially with persons of your nice discernment;" and he adds, with the unconscious humor of his years, "I am sure, was my Mammy willing, I think I should prefer being with you to all the pleasures which the company of my relations can afford me."

Mr. J. S. Babcock, who published a pamphlet on Hale in 1844, may not be too fulsome in his pen picture of the young schoolmaster where he says: "There are persons yet living, who well recollect his mild and winning mode of instruction, gaining at once the confidence and attachment of both parents and pupils; his modest yet manly deportment, his singularly frank and sincere manner, free from shadow of deception or disguise; his happy art of imparting right views and feelings to his inferiors; the power and charm of his conversation, which made him the favorite of both sexes—of the old and the young, in every domestic circle; withal, his remarkably expressive features, the very mirror of his heart, brightening up at every new emotion with a glow and an earnestness which none who had once seen him could ever forget."

Hale reëngaged to remain where he was until the middle of July, 1775. His subsequent course would be determined by circumstances. He might continue with the Union Academy and succeed to Tisdale's or his own uncle's reputation as a notable New England schoolmaster; or, like Nathan Strong, Timothy Dwight and his classmate William Robinson, he might be invited to become a tutor at Yale and under its influences conclude to enter the ministry. In such case we might have known him thereafter as one of Connecticut's leading parish pastors or divines. His brother Enoch, who was

greatly attached to him, entered the profession and settled at Westhampton, Massachusetts, where he maintained "an energetic and useful" charge for more than fifty-seven years. Nathan's last school-house still stands. Like the one at East Haddam, it has recently been restored, removed to a new site and placed in the care of a patriotic society, to be used as a library and depository of colonial and Revolutionary relics.

At New London, Hale made many good friends. The families of the school proprietors alone would form a large and homelike circle. In Gilbert Saltonstall, a graduate of Harvard, son of Colonel Gurdon Saltonstall, part of whose correspondence is included in these pages, he seems to have found a kindred spirit. The town was a port of entry, and among its residents were ship-builders, ship-masters, importers and whalers, some of them rough and ready men, full of adventure, and not a few of whom, including four or five of the proprietors referred to, were to do good service during the Revolution as owners and captains of privateers. Here Hale met a new element whose acquaintance was to prove important to him when the war broke out, and which he must have enjoyed in itself. Scholar as he was and refined in his tastes, he loved companionship and could mingle heartily with the world as he found it. Those who were to become his subordinate officers and soldiers recognized in him, as



their letters show, a sympathetic heart as responsive to their own rugged, honest natures as they were appreciative of his talents and open character. His experience in this town was valuable to him in more ways than one. It broadened his range of observation and matured capacities in which others would be called upon and were willing to confide.

With Hale's college and later days it is usual to associate a bit of romance which seems to be gathering into a chapter of courtship and engagement. To the few circumstances, however, as they were understood fifty years ago and noticed elsewhere in these pages,¹ there is little to add. The handsome and affable youth no doubt made an impression in the circle of his young lady friends and was equally susceptible to their attractions. We have an intimation of his tastes in one case from a line his classmate Robinson wrote to him while he was teaching at East Haddam. "My own school," he says, "is not large; my neighbors are kind, and (summatim) my distance from a house on your side the river which contains an object worthy the esteem of every one, and, as I conclude, has yours in an especial manner, is not great." Tallmadge appears to have heard of this from Robinson, and at a later date wrote to his dear Hale charging him with being, in his own words, "head and heels in love." These intimate classmates, like the universal college chum,

¹ See notes at end of the Appendix.

could not let the opportunity pass of making the most of rumor or their suspicions, and they may have been in league to draw Hale out. Whether he satisfied their curiosity, or whether there was any foundation for it at all, does not appear. It is certain that the young lady in question was not the one to whom Hale was engaged at the time of his death. The latter is best known as Alice, or Alicia, Adams, whom domestic changes introduced into his father's family while he was in college. They became betrothed apparently while he was in the service, and it is pleasant to know that she also was a person "worthy the esteem of every one." She survived as the widow of Mr. William Lawrence, of Hartford, to the ripe age of eighty-eight, and is still remembered by persons living as a sweet, benign, intellectual woman — a character that is stamped in the lines of her portrait which has recently been added to the Athenæum collection in that city.





Hale's Letter to School Proprietors

Collection of Mr. W. F. Hamner

John Winthrop Esq.	Capt. David Mumford
Capt. Guy Richardson	Thomas Mumford Esq.
Duncan Stewart Esq.	W. Silas Church
Capt. Robin. Mumford	Capt. Michael Melally
M. Roger Gibson	Capt. Thomas Allen
Winthrop Suttonstall Esq.	Capt. Charles Chadwick
Capt. Joseph Pickwood	M. Samuel Belden
Capt. William Pickwood	Jeremiah Miller Esq.
Capt. Richard Lusher	Capt. Russell Hubbard
M. John Richards	M. Nath. Shaw Junr.
Richard Saw Esq.	Capt. John Crocker
M. Timothy Green	Doct. Thomas Coit

Gentlemen Proprietors of Union School are desired to meet
at the School House next Friday Evening (Feb. 22) 6 O'Clock
agreeable to adjournment from the 3 Inst. to the rising of the
Court. The matters proposed to be considered were, the
Act of Incorporation — the choice of proper Officers —
procuring a Bill and what else might be thought proper.
The Cause of the Adjournment was the smallness of the
Number present — That there might not be the same
Occasion for another more early Notice was desired to
be given by Gentlemen
Your Humble Servant
S. Hale

Wednesday Feb. 22. 1775

No Meeting on account of bad Weather.





IV

THE LEXINGTON ALARM—HALE JOINS THE ARMY



WHILE Hale was teaching school the war opened. The nineteenth of April, 1775, had the effect of a surprise. The phase of affairs had been regarded as critical, men felt that a struggle was upon them, but the actual hostilities, the firing of the first gun, stirred them all with a new and profound sensation. It was so in our Civil War. While the conflict with the mother-country had been openly predicted and anticipated, the sudden mustering of the farmers, the volleys along the roads and from behind the walls, the slaughter of the red-coats, the fall of neighbors and the grief of families intensified their mingled forebodings and enthusiasm. Nothing had come so near to these people since the days when King Philip or the Pequots had threat-

ened the homes of their grandfathers. The pitch of their emotion and patriotism is represented by this outburst in a letter of the day: "Oh my dear New England, hearest thou the alarm of war—the call of Heaven is to arms, to arms!"

Connecticut as a near neighbor turned out to the assistance of Massachusetts and in a few days had four thousand men on the roads marching towards Boston. They dropped into their militia organizations or, forming impromptu companies, pushed on, in many cases without waiting for orders. In its records of the Revolutionary War, published by the State, the names of these volunteers, with the days of their service, are classified by localities and together present the appearance of an honor-roll of the emergency. In the Coventry list may be seen the names of John and Joseph Hale, two of Nathan's brothers.

The young schoolmaster watched the tendencies of the times with eager interest. In the second letter that we have from his pen, dated September 8, 1774, he writes that no liberty-pole had yet been erected in New London, "but the people seem much more spirited than they were before the alarm." This was an alarm caused within a few days by the report that the British ships were firing upon Boston and troops preparing to march upon the towns. Several thousand armed men in Massachusetts and Connecticut immediately headed

for the threatened points. The reports proved false, but the colonists realized through this demonstration that the right spirit would prevail when reports proved true. Hale adds: "Parson Peters, of Hebron, I hear, has had a second visit paid him by the Sons of liberty in Windham. His treatment and the concessions he made I have not yet heard." Hebron adjoined Coventry and the parson was the Rev. Samuel Peters, one of the few clergymen in the colony who threw their influence against the rising sentiment of the country. Finding the liberty men too much in earnest to give them occasion for a third visit, he quickly left for England.

From this date the movement grew rapidly. In October the lately assembled first Continental Congress took decisive action in favor of commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain as long as the tax measures were in force. Its stand was applauded and toasted by the patriotic element. A wider interchange of views and freer expression of them followed. New London was one of the few Connecticut towns that could boast the luxury of a newspaper, and its weekly *Gazette*, like the others elsewhere, served as a pulse of opinion through the items it circulated. If Hale read it carefully, as no doubt he did, he saw that his friends and neighbors in Coventry held a legal town meeting on September 13,—Phineas Strong, moderator,—at which they expressed alarm at the gloomy aspect, but at the

same time gratefully acknowledged "the favorable omens of Providence in that happy unity, propitious plenty, sympathetic charity, noble fortitude and manly resistance to despotism, universal throughout America." He saw that at the recent Commencement at his college there was an English dialogue presented on "The Right of America, and the unconstitutional measures of the British Parliament." Now and then there came some bugle blast which strengthened the nerves, as when "Cassius" wrote to the printer on February 24, 1775:

"The question which for the last ten years has been agitated between Great Britain and the American Colonies is now shifted from the principle of right to that of power. . . . To this crisis, O Americans, our affairs are wrought up that the alternative, the serious alternative, is this—either submit and take the yoke upon you or prepare, and that instantly, to resist in the same style in which you have hitherto professed to reason and to act. Long and laboured speeches and harangues, when the enemy are in sight, carry with them strong implication of cowardice. . . . Therefore, as it has been for some time sounded as our alarm-bell that we must unite or die—our motto being 'United we stand, divided we fall'—so in one word let this be added, Resist and be free or submit and be slaves. Need men be urged to arm when the enemy is at the door?"

Immediately beneath this appears the report of a meeting in Fairfax County, Virginia, in favor of

organization of companies and drilling for service, with the heading, "Colonel George Washington in the Chair." A month later the *Gazette* did not fail to publish Warren's oration on the anniversary of the Boston massacre, with its many impassioned sentences, and also one of Chatham's friendly speeches. Independence was at that date something of a prohibited sentiment so far as its public expression was concerned, but in private it was avowed, if not urged, in certain quarters; and when the New London paper found a pointed reference to it in the Boston *Post*, it seems to have been happy to quote it without assuming the responsibility of its appearance. In effect the writer said that if England continued to spurn her colonies, the latter would be compelled by the great law of nature to rise in their might and, following the example of the united provinces of Holland, publish a manifesto to the world, showing the necessity of dissolving their connection with a nation whose ministers were aiming at their ruin. With this they must offer free trade to all and an asylum to the oppressed throughout the world. "This is the *dernier resort*," continued the writer, "and this, Americans, you can do, and *this you must do*, unless tyranny ceases to invade your liberties." Samuel Adams thought so too, and he had more than one disciple throughout the colonies. From what we know of Hale he could heartily have said "Amen" to the sentiment.

There was also a poets' corner in the *Gazette* in which the local muse was permitted at intervals to fan the flame. "Rule Britannia" was once as popular in America as in England, but now an American version was attempted :

"To spread bright freedom's gentle sway,
 Your isle too narrow for its bound,
 We traced wild ocean's trackless way
 And here a safe asylum found.
 Rule Britannia, rule the waves,
 But rule us justly — not like slaves.

"Let us your sons by freedom warm'd,
 Your own example keep in view,
 'Gainst Tyranny be ever arm'd,
 Tho' we our Tyrant find — in *you*.
 Rule Britannia, rule the waves,
 But never make your children slaves."

To Hale such atmosphere must have proved a tonic, and we are the better prepared to accept the traditions which represent him as making a spirited speech at a public meeting held in New London on the reception of the news from Lexington. "Let us march immediately," he is reported to have said, "and never lay down our arms until we obtain our independence." The last word was cautiously in the air, but he may have boldly spoken it as the true issue of the war. This was obvious to every

one who had watched events and understood the temper of the home administration. There was no half-way outcome. War meant complete independence for the colonies, or, in case of defeat, a more irritating dependence on Great Britain.

Whatever Hale may have said at the meeting, it is hardly probable, as usually represented, that he bade farewell to his school on the following morning and marched with Captain Coit's company for Boston. Parts of four companies went from New London. His name does not appear on the official list of any of them, and from the tenor of his letter to the proprietors of the school, July 7th following, we gather that he had not been absent from it in April. He was under engagement for a year, and just before its expiration he requested as a special favor that they would release him two weeks in advance. Nothing, he says, could have persuaded him to ask for it but the fact that he had received a commission in the army and that closing a fortnight earlier would probably not subject them to inconvenience. Had he marched on the alarm and been away as long as Coit's company, the school would have been broken up for the term. He was well aware that if the war had then opened in earnest, the systematic mustering of troops would be necessary and that he could enter for permanent service in ample time a few weeks later.

Connecticut made her first regular call for volun-

teers soon after the uprising of the 19th and organized six regiments, one from each county, to serve for seven months. As these troops were despatched into fields outside of the State, some to participate in the siege of Boston, others to invade Canada, the Assembly at an extra session in July organized two more regiments for the special defense of the colony, to be known as the "Seventh" and "Eighth" and to serve until about the 1st of December. Long terms of service, winter quarters—anything suggestive of a regular army—would have been intolerable to the colonists at that date, and in consequence the country during the first two years suffered from lack of discipline and cohesion in its defensive force. It was not until 1777 that a Continental army was enlisted to serve for "three years or during the war." On the other hand, the short terms of the earlier years were filled with a promptness that gave to the cause the needed momentum and appearance of energy.

On the 1st of July the Connecticut Assembly appointed, and on the 6th the Governor commissioned, the officers of the new "Seventh" regiment. Hale's name was on the list. He appeared as first lieutenant of the third, or major's, company. The appointment doubtless came about in the usual way. The Assembly, through committees, made out the list from applications and recommendations received from the delegates or leading men of the towns.

Expressing his wish to enter the service, Hale could receive ample indorsement from friends in New London. It is quite possible that the major, Jonathan Latimer, who came from that place and whose son Robert was one of Hale's pupils, applied to have him appointed his lieutenant. The first lieutenants of the three field officers' companies were practically captains, as they had full charge of the men. The regiment was commanded by Colonel Charles Webb, of Stamford, and being intended for coast defense, it was recruited mainly from Greenwich, Stamford, Norwalk, Milford, New Haven, Branford, Saybrook, Lyme, New London, Groton, and Stonington on the Sound. It contained, as Hale himself says, many skippers and sailors. The lieutenant-colonel's first lieutenant was William Hull, of Derby, one of Hale's college acquaintances whose friendship was to be strengthened in their camp associations.

As he left his school to begin recruiting, Hale wrote to the proprietors his appreciative letter of July 7th. "Good reasons," he assures them, take him into the army. "School keeping," he adds, "is a business of which I was always fond, but since my residence in this town, everything has conspired to render it more agreeable. I have thought much of never quitting it but with life, but at present there seems an opportunity of more extended public service. The kindness expressed to me by the

people of the place, but especially the proprietors of the school, will always be very gratefully remembered." So the school bell gave way to the drum, and with commission, blanks and necessary funds in hand, Hale proceeded to fill up his company. It may have been at this interval, when he had occasion to ride around the country, that he called on old friends in New Haven. It was at Dr. Munson's, as we are told, that, while speaking of the new field he was about to enter, he exclaimed with a youth's enthusiasm, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!"

Hale appears to have recruited men in and around New London, while his lieutenant and ensign, Belcher and Hilliard, went to work at Stonington. In this connection we have a brief but rare letter preserved, in which Belcher writes to Hale that by the 27th of July he had enrolled twenty-two men, whom he expected to increase to thirty, and inquires "what progress you have made in the enlisting way." The companies were all soon filled and took post at different points. Several were stationed at New Haven under the colonel, while the major and three companies went on with the fortifications at New London. The daily routine was drill, guard and picket duty along the shore. Once, in August, the enemy's ships fired into Stonington and the major and his men—Hale with them, no doubt—hurried over to defend the

place. The alarm subsided and they were soon ordered to another field.

Washington had not been in command of the gathering provincial army around Boston more than a month before he called for reinforcements. On September 8th, he made a demand on Governor Trumbull for the two new Connecticut regiments and about the 20th the companies were on the march.

It is here that the preserved portions of Hale's army diary begin. Brief, abbreviated, hurriedly written and intended, probably, only for personal reference, it is still a valuable record — the only existing record, indeed, which gives the movements of his regiment. For biographical purposes its value lies in the lively interest it shows him to have taken in his new duties as an officer and in the progress of the war. From it we learn that from New London his part of the regiment marched to Providence and beyond through the Massachusetts towns of Rehoboth, Attleborough, Wrentham, Walpole, Dedham and Roxbury to Cambridge, headquarters of the American force besieging the British in Boston. On arrival the Seventh was assigned to General Sullivan's brigade at Winter Hill, on the extreme left of the semicircular line of investment, not far from Medford. The other Connecticut regiments were stationed on the right, at Roxbury.

Five months had now passed since Lexington and Concord, and three since the battle of Bunker

Hill. These opening successes had greatly elated the country and seemed to foreshadow the final result. The gathering, around Boston, of the farmers and citizens in their own clothes, and many of them with their own arms, indicated the character and extent of the first uprising. It was a new experience—not yet, and never to become, a camp of soldiers so much as an extended muster of the townsmen. These people were still appealing, in 1775, to their king to protect them against the legislation of their Parliament, and they raised no common flag of disloyalty. They floated their provincial or special regimental colors. Our schoolmaster of the Seventh Connecticut marched under a blue banner. Next year, with their protests and attitude unheeded, they will run the white stripes of colonial integrity through the broad red field of the British standard, and at a later date replace the Union Jack with a cluster of stars.



Hale's Powder-horn and Leaf from Army Diary

Connecticut Historical Society

of general & universal
consent to carry on till the
Habitat came in, and by
the the greater part agreed
to forget the first of Jan
2^d January
Ordered to the Regt
that no one Officer or
Soldier should go be-
yond Sea wall from
his alarm post. Went
to visit with Genl
Sully's advice with
Profess, for things
about by the soldiers
who are to carry till the
1st of January, but found
he had none.

3^d Sunday

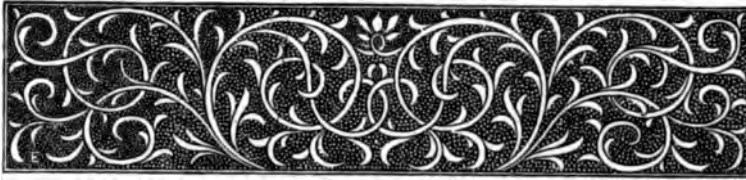
That weather, no fire
In got a maid for Capt
Sullivan upon table
Miffins for the hour
men took it to be
to be hid at Sea

4th Monday

Went to Cambridge to
draw the room a table
but the order was not
executed, and things
several things had been
taken by our Party,
among which was a
Hull from Scotland
had out with food, the
out of the young dry
gates. Put building
at Chamberlain from
Cottrell with the same.







V

IN CAMP NEAR BOSTON—BESIEGING
THE ENEMY



HERE at Winter Hill, two miles on the direct road from the British at Charlestown Neck and Bunker Hill, Hale passed his first four months with Washington's army. Apart from the gratification of being in his country's service, he found camp life more or less agreeable. He seems at one time or another to have visited nearly every part of the American lines, examined the forts and familiarized himself with the country about. The doings of the enemy, who at points were in plain sight, would of course be noted. "Considerable firing upon Roxbury side in the forenoon, and some P. M. No damage done as we hear"—is his first entry the morning after arrival in quarters. Some days later he rides several miles around to the right

or Dorchester end of the line to have a look at British Boston from that side. Now and again he commands the picket-guard on Ploughed Hill, in advance of Winter Hill, and hears the regulars at work with their pickaxes. "One of our centries," he writes, "heard their grand rounds give the countersign which was Hamilton.—Returned to camp at sunrise." November 9th there was a general alarm sounded on the landing, at Lechmere's Point, of a body of red-coats who were out on a cattle raid. "Our works were immediately all manned," is Hale's account, "and a detachment sent to receive them, who were obliged to wade through water nearly waist high. While the enemy were landing, we gave them a constant cannonade from Prospect Hill. Our party, having got on to the Point, marched in two columns, one on each side of y^e hill, with a view to surround y^e enemy, but upon the first appearance of them, they made their boats as fast as possible." Opposite, on Bunker Hill, a young English officer, Captain Evelyn, was sending home similar bits of news. "Remember poor me," he wrote to his father in October, "three thousand miles off, lodging upon the cold ground, and now and then ducking at the whistling of a twenty-four pounder, one of which came a few days ago into our camp, went through one of our tents and fairly took the crown out of one of the King's Own Grenadiers' hats. His head was not in it." Not

long after Hale had something of the same sort to note: "Went to Cobble Hill. A shell and a shot from Bunker Hill. The shell breaking in the air, one piece fell and touched a man's hat, but did no harm." This was mild warfare, but all new to young soldiers in 1775.

The siege of Boston presented no thrilling or desperate episodes. On the part of the Americans it was mainly a blockade of the roads running out of the town, with an attempt to crowd the enemy at given points. The lack of powder prevented a continued and concentrated bombardment of Boston, while the British believed their own force to be insufficient to break up the siege and seemed to dread the repetition of such stone-wall fighting as the minute-men of April 19th had indulged in. As the winter drew on, both armies kept more closely to their lines and contented themselves with irregular cannonading. From the nature of the position, attack and sortie were seldom attempted. In the meantime Captain Hale was perfecting himself in a soldier's and officer's duties. He drilled his company, looked after clothes, provisions, pay and equipments and mastered the minute directions for guards and pickets. Resolution and activity marked his daily routine. "Studied the method of forming a regiment for a review, of arraying the companies, also of marching round the reviewing officer. A man ought never to lose a moment's time. If he put

off a thing from one minute to the next his reluctance is but increased." And again: "Complaint of the bad condition of the lower picquet by Major Cutler. It is of the utmost importance that an officer should be anxious to know his duty, but of greater that he should carefully perform what he does know. The present irregular state of the army is owing to a capital neglect in both of these." His leisure hours, too, were often pleasantly spent. With the freedom and familiarity permitted in the provincial forces, where in many cases men and officers had been friends and neighbors at home, we find him dining twice at General Putnam's, visiting Generals Lee, Greene, Spencer and Sullivan and sharing in entertainments. On these occasions Hull was frequently his companion. They were both promoted to be captains, or more properly captains-lieutenant, during this fall—Hale on September 1st—but were not allowed a full captain's pay until the reorganization to be noticed. At times Hale joined in camp diversions, played football and checkers, watched wrestling matches—evening prayers, he tells us, being omitted on the occasion when Winter Hill was "stumped" by Prospect Hill—read what books he could pick up, went to hear the several chaplains preach, drank a bottle of wine at Brown's, cider at Stone's, wrote letters to father, brothers, friends and pupils, and—what is significant of his faith and temperament—through-

out his diary never entered a despondent line or reflection. It is true that in his polite note of October 19th to Betsey Christophers at New London, he implies that camp scenes had lost their first fascination for him. As we would expect, however, he tells her: "Not that I am discontented—so far from it, that in the present situation of things I would not accept a furlough were it offered me."

In his Connecticut circles Hale was not forgotten. Among his New London acquaintances, Gilbert Saltonstall, already referred to, kept him informed of all matters of interest, and to Hale's care in preserving his letters we are indebted for additions of some value to local history. Hearing from the captain that he was at Winter Hill, Saltonstall replied: "I see you are stationed in the mouth of danger. I look upon your situation as more perilous than any other in camp." In reply to something Hale must have written him about entering the service, he says: "I wholly agree with you in y^e agreeables of a camp life and should have tryed it in some capacity or other before now, could my father carry on his business without me. I proposed going with Dudley [his brother] who is appointed to command a twenty-Gun ship in the Continental Navy, but my father is not willing, and I can't persuade myself to leave him in the eve of life against his consent." An opportunity offered later. In a

postscript he adds: "The young girls, B. Coit, S. and P. Belden [Hale's pupils] have frequently desired their Compliments to Master, but I've never thought of mentioning it till now. You must write something in your next by way of P. S. that I may shew it them." He sends Hale the war news from different points, addresses him as "Esteemed Friend" and hopes he will continue writing him from camp. His letters in the Appendix only add to the regret that Hale's answers, and his replies to others, have not been preserved. John Hallam wrote October 9th: "I received your two letters by Capt. Packwood and the post—am extremely glad you bore travelling & arrived at the camp so well. . . . Mrs. Hallam, Betsey & the rest of the family's compliments to you." Young Thomas W. Fosdick applied for a position in the army, "under you in particular"—a wish that was to be gratified in the following year. Among his classmates Elihu Marvin, at Norwich, took Hale to task for not remembering him: "Three months at Cambridge and not one line—Well, I can't help it; if a Captain's commission has all this effect, what will happen when it is turned into a Colonel's. . . . Polly hears of one and another at New London who have letters from Mr. Hale, but none comes to me, Polly says." Roger Alden, at New Haven, also thought he was neglected, but explained with a sententious touch: "The cares, perplexities and fatigues of your

office are matters sufficient to vindicate your conduct, and the duty which you owe your honor and the interest of your country is sufficient to employ your whole time and to justify you in dispensing with the obligations of your old friends and acquaintances." In a livelier and more interested vein he continued: "I almost envy you your circumstances—I want to be in the army very much; I feel myself fit to relish the noise of guns, trumpets, blunderbuss and thunder, and was I qualified for a berth and of influence sufficient to procure one, I would accept it with all my heart. . . . After you have thought over all this tell yourself that no one loves you more than Roger Alden."

With the approach of winter the enlistment of a new army engrossed the attention of Congress and camp. The terms of most of the troops would expire in December, and the danger was foreseen that during that and the following month the investment might be seriously weakened. Washington's anxiety in the case is expressed in his letters of that date. To meet the emergency it was determined to recruit new regiments, as far as possible from the old ones in camp, to serve through the year 1776. This was known as the new establishment, and Connecticut's quota was to be five battalions. Colonel Webb and all his captains, including Hale, reëntered the service, first for the emergency until January 1st, and then for the following year. The

nucleus of their regiment thus remained, and they proceeded to fill up its companies. In the new army for 1776 it was designated as the "Nineteenth Foot in the service of the United Colonies," otherwise in the army of the English colonies on the continent of North America, and hence the "Continental" army.

Hale refers to this reorganization, and we find him coöperating heart and soul in the work. To tide over December, the men were urged by officers of all grades, including Generals Lee and Sullivan, to remain a few weeks longer, and the militia were called out to fill the gaps. In a single sentence in Hale's diary we may read how earnestly he put the case before his own company: "Promised the men if they would tarry another month they should have my wages for that time"—an offer that might spontaneously come from one who was ready to give his life at a more serious turn of affairs. Many soldiers volunteered to remain, and the siege was maintained. One army was disappearing and another organizing in the face and with the knowledge of the enemy. Hale's term in the old Seventh expired December 6th, and on the 10th he was mustered out; but under the new arrangement he continued his duties without interruption. He re-enlisted men for his new company who were given furloughs for a few weeks, while his lieutenant and ensign went back to Connecticut to recruit more.

It took time to accomplish the business in the winter season, and it was well into January before the second army took shape. From New London John Hallam wrote to Hale, December 10th, that in view of the many demands for men, recruiting for his command went on slowly. Captain Dudley Saltonstall was beating up seamen for his Continental frigate, and a dozen craft were fitting out in port which needed sailors. It will be noticed that Hale commiserates Betsey Christophers on the social outlook for the winter, there would be so few gentlemen in town.

During these army changes Washington permitted officers and men to visit their homes, and Hale took his turn with the rest. On the 23d of December he left camp for a month's leave, reaching his father's house at Coventry on the 26th. Of this visit we know little, as a break occurs in his diary from the 29th until his return to Winter Hill, and we will leave him at the firesides of those he loved and whom he was never again to see. It is known that he spent part of the time at New London looking after enlistments. Here he missed his ensign, George Hurlbut, who had returned to camp and who wrote him on the 28th: "I joined our Company last Sunday and found them all in good spirits. I was very much disappointed in not seeing you here. I am now a going to set out for Bunker Hill [on picket]. I shan't go with so much pleasure

as if you was to be with me." On January 4th he is in happier mood: "I hope the next time I see you it will be in Boston a drinking a glass of wine with me. If we can but have a bridge we shall make a push to try our brave courage." On January 27th Hale was back again in camp with recruits to find that his regiment was one of the largest among the twenty-six which formed the new force, and that in the reorganization it was brigaded with three other Connecticut regiments under General Spencer and transferred to the right wing at Roxbury. His new commission as a full Continental captain, dated January 1, 1776, and signed by John Hancock, is still preserved.

Presently the military situation changed. Finding themselves locked in at Boston, unable to utilize either their army or their navy effectively, the British determined to abandon the contracted base for a wider field. They proposed to make New York the center of operations in 1776, and with powerful reinforcements control the line of the Hudson and thus isolate New England, with its large population and resources, from the other colonies. From that vantage-point the rebellion was to be quelled north and south. Washington and his officers fathomed the enemy's intentions, and in January General Lee was despatched to New York City to forestall Lord Howe and put the place in a state of defense. On March 17, 1776, came the first step

Haic's Commission as Captain

Collection of Major Godfrey A. S. Wieners

IN CONGRESS.

The Delegates of the United Colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina,* to *Yatham Dick* Esq.

WE reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, DO by these presents constitute and appoint you to be

Captain in the second
Regiment of Foot Comanded by Colonel Charles Wadd

in the army of the United Colonies, raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of

Captain by doing and performing all manner of things therunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, as

Captain And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the time being of the army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

By Order of the Congress,

Attest Charles Thomson Secy.

January the first 1770

John Hancock President



in the change of base. The British evacuated Boston and sailed away to Halifax — an event which was hailed with the greatest satisfaction throughout the country as a significant American triumph. Washington immediately began the transfer of the main part of his force to the threatened quarter.





VI

WITH THE ARMY AT NEW YORK—DEFEAT ON LONG ISLAND



THE Boston army marched to New York by brigades following each other at brief intervals. The first to start was a specially organized command under General Heath and included Hale's regiment, Webb's "Nineteenth." Webb's marching orders, signed by Horatio Gates, then Washington's adjutant-general, have been preserved. Leaving Roxbury March 18th with five days' cooked rations, the troops were to proceed by way of Mann's to Providence and thence by way of Green's and Burnham's—well-known inns—to Norwich, a distance of ninety-three miles, which Heath reports, the condition of the roads considered, they covered "with great expedition." On the 26th the troops were at New London and Hale found



himself for the third time among the friends of his school-teaching days and in the community from which he had volunteered for the field. But there was little time for greeting or reminiscence, as the local *Gazette* states that on the following day they all "embarked in high spirits on board 15 transports and sailed for New York." Leisurely floating up the Sound, they reached the East River in the forenoon of the 30th and, as Heath again tells us, disembarked at Turtle Bay, a convenient landing-place at the foot of present Forty-Fifth Street, a little south of Blackwell's Island.

As Hale stepped lightly ashore with his company and casually took in the surroundings, he saw near by an old powder-house and beyond it perhaps the remains of a former garrison camp, while just above stood attractively James Beekman's handsome mansion and cultivated grounds. Little did he dream that the shifting events of the next five months and a half would force this scene upon his view again with a sudden and pitiless reality! From that mansion he was to receive his death sentence, and not far from where he was then standing, with enemies instead of friends about him, he was to meet his tragic fate.

From Turtle Bay the troops marched into New York City and quartered in barracks and vacant houses. In the course of two weeks the other brigades arrived. Washington, not trusting to trans-

ports, rode down the shore road from New London and reached the city April 13th. From this time until the battle of Long Island in August the business in hand for the American forces was to fortify their new position. The military problem presented more complications than at Boston. There the object had been to drive the enemy out of a city; here the effort must be made to prevent them from occupying one. As New York was open to a combined attack at more than one point by the British fleet and land forces, the difficulties of the defense were greatly increased. To protect the city from direct bombardment it became necessary to throw one wing of the American army over to the Long Island or Brooklyn side of the East River and by its partial isolation weaken the entire line. This was the defect in Washington's new position, but it was felt and wisely held both in Congress and the army that the moral effect of the voluntary abandonment of so important a center would work more seriously than defeat in attempting to hold it. The enemy were to be met at the coast where they landed and every inch of soil disputed with them. This was the key-note of the campaign of 1776.

In following Hale's experiences in this new field, we miss the two sources of information and personal incident available for 1775. As far as known, not more than four entries of his diary for 1776

have been preserved, and most of his correspondence has disappeared. Of his own letters for this year, three exist. In various other records, however, his regiment is referred to. On April 2d, three days after its arrival, General Heath reviewed his brigade "on the green near the Liberty pole." The men, we are told, "made a martial appearance, being well armed, and went through their exercise much to the satisfaction of a great concourse of the inhabitants of the city." The green was the present City Hall Park, then much larger in area and generally called "the fields," while the liberty-pole, which in earlier years Sons of Liberty set up as often as British soldiers cut it down, stood close to the spot where Hale's statue now stands. In the review he must have marched over the site. As summer approached and troops kept coming in, they were encamped in tents outside of the city and on the Long Island front. Heath's brigade, which passed successively under Generals Stirling's and Sullivan's command and later under General McDougall's, was stationed early in May at about the center of the defenses thrown up across the island along the line of Grand Street. It extended across the Bowery at that point, with Webb's regiment apparently on the west side of the road. Of the three redouts it was to man, one was on a high hill known as Bayard's Mount, but which the British during their occupation called Bunker Hill. It was

in its vicinity that Hale would have been found during the greater part of this campaign. On July 9th — quoting once more from Heath's valuable memoirs — "At evening roll-call the declaration of the Congress, declaring the United Colonies FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATES, was published at the head of the respective brigades in camp, and received with loud huzzas." The inevitable issue was joined at last, a new nation was proclaimed, and no one, we venture to say, gave a more responsive cheer than our young captain, who felt for the first time that whatever sacrifice he might be called upon to make, it could now be made in the name of all that the colonies ought to fight for.

For a short time, in April or May, Hale's regiment was stationed on Long Island where there were works to build and Tories to watch. Many of the latter were arrested and removed under guard to other parts. Hale entertained a true Whig's opinion of them. "It would grieve every good man," he writes to his brother Enoch, May 30th, "to consider what unnatural monsters we have as it were in our bowels. Numbers in this Colony, and likewise in the western part of Connecticut, would be glad to imbrue their hands in their country's blood." With more satisfaction he touches on other points, June 3d: "It gives pleasure to every friend of his country to observe the health which prevails in our

army. . . . The army is every day improving in discipline, and it is hoped will soon be able to meet the enemy at any kind of play. My company, which at first was small, is now increased to eighty, and there is a sergeant recruiting, who, I hope, has got the other ten which completes the Company. We are hardly able to judge as to the numbers the British army for the summer is to consist of—undoubtedly sufficient to cause too much bloodshed.” These are brief sentences, but they continue to reflect Hale’s unwavering tone. He is observing, stout-hearted, confident, ready to meet the enemy “at any kind of play.”

Enoch Hale’s replies to his “brother Captain,” as he called him, are not at hand. That he wrote to him several times at this period appears from his own brief diary. Having entered the ministry, Enoch was now beginning to preach, filling pulpits temporarily at different places. As a member of a patriotic family he was interested in all that was going on and added his encouragement to the cause. “Go to training, pray with the soldiers,” is one of his entries. “Preach to the soldiers before they march” is another. On June 19th he notes that his brother John “has received a letter from Nathan, dated 17th at New York; has sent one for me by the way of Norwich—not received yet.” From July 23d to the 26th he was in New Haven attending Commencement. He called on

the President, saw Mr. Dwight, dined with classmate Hillhouse, lodged with classmate Robinson, took tea at "Rev. Edwards" and "Rev. Whittlesey's" and obtained the degree of Master of Arts for himself and the captain. "Write to brother to tell him I have got him his degree." Many questions, of course, these good college friends had to ask about Nathan and how he fared in the army, and probably they heard nothing more of him until the distressing news came in two months later.

To the disappointment of the spirited young officers in the American army, no more opportunities for distinguishing themselves in minor affairs offered here at New York than at the siege of Boston. Active campaigning did not open until the end of the summer. Preliminary skirmishes, dashes at picket posts, bold reconnoitering and surprises were out of the question before the battle of Long Island. Hale, it will appear, seems to have missed the chances of this kind which warfare usually presents. How much credit, accordingly, is to be given to accounts which make him the leader in a clever exploit early in the season, it is difficult to say. It is stated that he performed the feat of cutting out a sloop loaded with supplies from under the guns of the British man-of-war *Asia*, then lying in the East River, and distributing the clothes and provisions to needy soldiers of the army. That he was capable of such a capture will be taken for granted, but most probably

the incident has come down in an exaggerated form or has been confused with some other affair.¹ Many of Hale's company being sailors, they were detailed from time to time to man whale-boats patrolling the harbor and surrounding shores and a few with one or two officers are reported as being in the privateering service. Beyond this the regiment was on almost constant duty with the other troops on the lines around the city or on Governor's Island.

Presently, on June 28th, the enemy arrived. In a few weeks they numbered twenty-five thousand, with a powerful fleet to coöperate. Their camps were scattered over Staten Island. Washington's force was somewhat larger, but, with its many militiamen, far less effective. The expectation and suspense in the American camp were aggravated by Lord Howe's leisurely delay in preparing to advance. It was not until August 22d that he moved. The last note we have from Hale was dated two days before. To his brother he wrote: "I have only time for a hasty letter. Our situation has been such this fortnight or more as scarce to admit of writing. . . . For about six or eight days the enemy have been expected hourly whenever the wind and tide in the least favored. We keep a particular look out for them this morning. The place and manner

¹Some facts in the case are given in the notes at the end of the Appendix.

of attack time must determine. The event we leave to Heaven."

The first collision with the enemy—the battle of Long Island—occurred on August 27th. Lord Howe, at Staten Island, had been studying the American position for several weeks and rightly concluded that its vulnerable point lay in the detached left wing on the Brooklyn side. A successful attack there would result in the capture of some thousands of Washington's men, or, if unsuccessful, the British could march on to the vicinity of Hell Gate, and by threatening the American flank and rear at Harlem or beyond, compel the surrender of New York. Accordingly, with the bulk of his army, twenty-two thousand or more effectives, Howe crossed the Narrows to Gravesend beach and prepared to push three columns against the Brooklyn outposts and fortified lines. The latter ran through the heart of the present city. One column moved toward the site of Greenwood Cemetery, another to Flatbush and the lower edge of Prospect Park, while the third and strongest, under Howe in person, was held in position further east. As soon as Washington was assured that this was no feint, but a determined advance, he hurried troops across to the exposed flank and engaged the enemy in skirmishes on the roads. On the night of the 26th Howe marched his third column far out to his right, encircled the American pickets, captured the patrol of

five officers looking out for him, and early on the following morning reached a point between the American works and the three thousand American troops at the outposts on the grounds of the cemetery and the park. Finding themselves outflanked and almost surrounded, these troops made a dash to the rear to regain their works, and in the running fight that followed and in the stand made here and there by separate parties in the woods and fields we have the battle of Long Island. Washington lost about eleven hundred men that morning, two thirds of them prisoners, and on the night of the 29th, the position proving untenable, he made his famous retreat back to New York. The skill with which this was effected and the chagrin of the enemy at the loss of their opportunity compensated partially, in moral effect, for the disaster of the 27th.

Hale's regiment did not participate in this battle. McDougall's brigade, to which it then belonged, was one of the commands which had been sent over one or two days before, but it was retained within the works to repel an expected assault by the enemy after their success in the open. Hale and his comrades, however, must have been able to witness much of the fighting, and on the night of the retreat, with the sailors in the companies to distribute among the boats, they probably had their hands full. We should look for some description of these exciting events in the captain's diary, but here that al-

ready broken record stops short. The closing entry, dated August 23d, mentions the skirmishing on Long Island, and, so far as known, this is the last item we have under his own hand.

Hale was now twenty-one years old, and commanding a company seventy or eighty strong. It has been observed by writers that the Revolution was fought out largely by young men, which is substantially true of all long wars. Our school-master captain was hardly a veteran as yet, but fourteen months with the army had made him something of a seasoned soldier who understood his duties and impressed his superiors. His own company he doubtless held well in hand by firm and kind methods and the force of his own example. Such a spirit would wish for men who could be depended upon in action, and we know that already there was some fighting material developing in his little command. His brave boy-sergeant, Fosdick, mentioned in Hale's last letter, could dare to run a fire-raft against a British man-of-war, and presently he will be fighting in Knowlton's Rangers. His ensign, George Hurlbut, subsequently promoted a cavalry captain, was to be mortally wounded in saving a store-ship in the Hudson, not far above the scene of Fosdick's exploit. Washington's orders mention him and his comrades on the occasion as "entitled to the most distinguished notice and applause from their general." His faithful sergeant, Stephen

Hempstead, to be referred to again, barely survived the terrible wounds he received at the defense of Fort Ledyard and in the massacre of its garrison. What these fine fellows thought of their captain is a matter of record. All three were happy in serving under him. Hale's new first lieutenant, Charles Webb, Jr., the colonel's son, was to fall some months later in a hand-to-hand whale-boat encounter in the Sound.

So, too, as the emergency called for additional troops, there came down to camp several more of Hale's friends—a number having been with him at the Boston siege—filled with the same bright hopes for their country, and some of whom were to win laurels. His uncle Joseph and cousin Nathan Strong, mentioned in previous chapters, appeared as chaplains for brief terms, and one or more of his brothers and some relatives from Ashford and Canterbury served with the militia. General Gurdon Saltonstall and his son Gilbert, Hale's faithful correspondent, arrived with a New London county brigade only in time to hear of their friend's cruel fate. Gilbert latterly entered the privateer service, and was several times wounded in an action with a British cruiser which in desperation and casualties recalled the sea-fights of Paul Jones. Among college mates, Tallmadge, like Hale, now broke away from his school desk and took the field as adjutant. He was to become a quite famous major of dra-

goons, and be taken into Washington's confidence in the management of important secret services during the war. Schoolmasters Alden and Marvin, and Mr. Dwight as chaplain, followed in 1777. Wyllys, salutatorian at Hale's commencement, was also here. When New York fell in September, it was his fate to be captured and held a prisoner in the city at the time his classmate was executed. Still other friends and acquaintances now in camp were Isaac Sherman, William Hull and Ezra Selden, who, as battalion and company commanders, were to rush with Wayne into the enemy's stronghold at Stony Point—the most brilliant affair of the war. Had Hale lived, the promise of like service and promotion was before him. Not that he would have sought military honors as such, for a professional soldier he never could have become; but with his talents, aptitude, personal presence and devotion to the cause, he could hardly have retired at the end with less distinction than his companions. He was to be cut down, however, at the threshold, and an unexpected and peculiarly precious remembrance held in reserve for him. The strong purpose and action which have given to the world its martyrs and patriots work out their end in their own way and their own time. For Hale the occasion was to come in the next twenty days.



Statue of Hale, City Hall Park, New York

Sons of the Revolution







VII

HALE IN THE BRITISH LINES—CAPTURE AND EXECUTION



NO period of the war was Washington oppressed with keener anxieties or a heavier responsibility than during the twenty days immediately following the battle of Long Island. As New York was now practically at the mercy of the enemy—their guns on Brooklyn Heights commanding the city—all the preparations of the summer had come to naught, and the hopes of the country disappointed. For the moment his army was dispirited. To restore confidence, repair losses and provide against further defeat required herculean exertion. The faithful chief still hoped to maintain the same brave front, and cling to every foot of the soil he had been called to defend, when a new problem was presented in the changed military sit-

uation. It was seen to be full of danger. Within a week, or by September 6th, the British had extended their camps on the Long Island side from Brooklyn to Hell Gate, a distance of seven miles or more, while their fleet threatened the city from below. Where Washington before had been facing south, with Howe on Staten Island, he now found himself in effect facing east, with the narrow East River alone between him and his antagonist. Safety seemed to lie in the instant abandonment of New York and all the island below the line of Harlem.

Loath to retreat until driven by superior force, the American generals held a council of war on the 7th, and determined to defend their position, both city and island. This decision, which has been criticized as unmilitary and almost inexplicable, was to be reversed four days later; but one effect of it, which the council must have anticipated, was to delay the enemy in their next advance. The boldness of this attitude seemed to puzzle even Lord Howe. Washington, more than any one, recognized the risks involved. Against them he also balanced the chances in his favor, as they varied from day to day and from hour to hour. The imminent danger was twofold. As long as it could be observed that the British were not concentrating a flotilla of boats for crossing, the American army could be held intact. One tide at night, however, might bring them up from the bay or from ships



in the Sound, in which case another Long Island surprise might be in store. It was furthermore apparent that the red-coats were massing at Newtown and the Hell Gate end of the opposite shores, where they threatened the American flank and rear. The flank would be threatened at Harlem by way of the present Ward's and Randall's islands. Should a large body of troops land there, at about the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, and push across towards the Hudson, it would be interposed between Washington's main army in New York and a smaller force at King's Bridge under General Heath. The question would then be whether Washington could drive the enemy back with loss or suffer more heavily himself in cutting his way through to Heath. The rear was exposed to a more northerly movement across to the Westchester shore and a rapid march upon King's Bridge, by which the Americans would be hemmed in on Manhattan Island. In either attempt on the part of the enemy it was of the first importance to anticipate them.

With this critical situation continuing during the first two weeks of September, the tension of Washington's suspense correspondingly increased. If he had been anxious to fathom Howe's plans before the latter began the campaign from Staten Island, he was infinitely more so now. It was not enough to keep a ceaseless watch across the East River.

Works and camps were here and there in open view, but what was going on behind them? British headquarters, it was ascertained, were at Newtown, ships were beginning to run by the American batteries in the city, others were reported in the Sound and reinforcements were arriving. When and where was the next blow to fall?

What Washington now longed for and sought was information—full, accurate and speedy information that would throw light on Howe's designs. Like every other commander in history, all through the contest he came to depend much on intelligence gained through the "secret service."¹ Authorities on war make the spy an essential of war, especially justifying his utilization by an army defending a great cause and its own soil. This had already been done in the present campaign. As early as July 14th General Hugh Mercer reported his regret to Washington that he could find no one qualified to enter the camp of the British then recently arrived. On August 21st, however, General William Livingston relieved him with the despatch: "Very providentially I sent a spy last night on Staten Island to obtain intelligence. He has this moment returned in safety." So now, on September 1st, the

¹ On this point consult article, "The Secret Service of the Revolution," in *Magazine of American History*, February, 1882. It there appears how far Major Tallmadge, Hale's classmate, assisted Washington in the matter. The latter's accounts show that he expended considerable sums of money for such intelligence.

chief urged Generals Heath and George Clinton to establish "a channel of information" through which frequent reports from the Long Island side could reach him. "Perhaps," he writes, "some might be got who are really Tories for a reasonable reward to undertake it. Those who are friends would be preferable, if they could manage it as well." More anxiously and hurriedly he wrote on the 5th: "As everything in a manner depends on obtaining intelligence of the enemy's motions, I do most earnestly entreat you and General Clinton to exert yourselves to accomplish this most desirable end. Leave no stone unturned, nor do not stick at expense to bring this to pass, as I was never more uneasy than on account of my want of knowledge on this score."

Other measures against surprise were also provided, such as the organization and more general use of light scouting parties whose intended service is indicated in the letter last quoted. "Keep constant lookouts," Washington instructed Heath, "with good glasses, on some commanding heights that look well on to the other shore, and especially into the bays, where boats can be concealed, that they may observe, more particularly in the evening, if there be any uncommon movements. Much will depend upon early intelligence, and meeting the enemy before they can intrench. I should much approve of small harassing parties, stealing, as it were,

over in the night, as they might keep the enemy alarmed, and more than probably bring off a prisoner, from whom some valuable intelligence may be obtained.”¹

One of these parties figures vitally in our narrative—the little corps which those familiar with the details of this campaign will recognize as “Knowlton’s Rangers.” With its organization we come to the turning-point in Hale’s career. We reach those few remaining days when he will break away from regimental routine to seek more active duty with this body—when he will find himself in closer touch with the movements and interests of the army at large—when he will know more of the plans and wishes of his beloved commander—when he will feel the thrill of special responsibility—and when, finally, he will not shrink from taking his life in his hands and, single-handed, attempt a service which he feels the demands of the hour require of him.

Companies of rangers had been effective in the French and Indian War. Captains Robert Rogers and Israel Putnam had made a name with them. They had served as the eyes of the old frontier army, and it was just such watchful and tireless men that Washington now needed in his own during the remainder of this campaign. The lack of them was

¹ This interesting letter appears in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections for 1878—the “Heath Papers,” p. 283.

felt on Long Island when Howe stole his night march around the American left. As Putnam had become a rebel major-general and Rogers a loyalist colonel on the other side, the command of the proposed corps fell to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Knowlton, of Ashford, Connecticut, who had gallantly defended the rail fence at Bunker Hill, and in the former war had been a ranger himself. For this body about one hundred and fifty men and twenty officers were regarded as sufficient for present purposes. They appear to have been divided into four companies, and only the best material was admitted to their ranks. The selections were made largely from the regiments of Knowlton's own State, and it is probable that the captains at least were men of his own choice. Two were taken from his own regiment, and of the other two one was Nathan Hale. Whether the latter, hearing of the proposed detachment, volunteered his services, or whether he was invited on account of his recognized fitness, does not appear. We know that he was accepted and served. On the September rolls of Webb's regiment the record is entered that one captain and two lieutenants were on duty with Knowlton, while among the many evidences of service filed away in the Pension Bureau at Washington—the diaries, letters, commissions and sometimes touching statements of old Revolutionary soldiers, whom Congress had long neglected—may be

found the brief receipts of moneys due to "the Company of Rangers commanded late by Captain Hale."¹

Organized about September 1st, Knowlton's command was quickly on duty at exposed points. One company, certainly, patrolled the Westchester shore, and the others probably the Harlem and Hell Gate flank. They were not engaged on the 15th when Howe finally made his descent on New York, for he crossed some miles below, at Kip's Bay, at the foot of East Thirty-fourth Street. Washington meanwhile had withdrawn the greater part of his force from the city to the northern end of the island, and suffered nothing more serious than a temporary panic and the loss of three or four hundred militiamen. On the following day, however, September 16th, the entire body of Rangers succeeded, by clever scouting, in drawing the van of the British some distance out of their new encampment on the line of One Hundred and Seventh Street, and then, with other troops, distinguished themselves in driving it back again with loss. This was the battle of Harlem Heights, fought partly on the present site of Columbia University; and although it proved a costly victory in the death of the brave and manly leader of the

¹"The Battle of Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776," p. 194. Published for the Columbia University Press, New York, 1897. For roster of the Rangers, see p. 189.

Rangers, it wonderfully cheered the depressed army and stirred the young blood of its soldiers to further effort. With what courage and spirit and relish would not Hale have dashed into this encounter after the long months of regulation duty in camp! Here were fire and action that were real and brought results—the kind of service he had been clearly eager for, and which now under Knowlton it seemed that he could render. But Hale was not here. Probably of all the Rangers he alone was absent from the Harlem field—nevertheless to be found somewhere on some kind of duty, we may be assured. At the very hour that his comrades were developing the position of the enemy and fighting hard and grandly to retrieve the loss and panic of the previous day, he was far over on the shores of Long Island on the point of undertaking the hazardous errand with which his name is associated.

As Knowlton, in the capacity of partizan leader, received his instructions directly from the Commander-in-Chief, he came necessarily to enter confidentially into his anxieties and wishes. There is no record to follow here, no unearthed reports of interviews and orders, but if Washington had urged Mercer and Livingston and Heath and Clinton to use every means to obtain information of the enemy, employing spies if they could, he obviously urged the same on Knowlton, in whose military

tact he had great confidence. If it belonged to any one it would belong to an officer whose business it was to keep in close touch with the opposite picket lines, to see what could be done by stealthy means. The office of a spy was doubtless as repugnant to the fearless Ranger as to any soldier in the army, but in the present emergency, between the 1st and 10th of September, he could not ignore the call upon him and he broached the matter to one or more of his captains and subordinates. Possibly he was directed to do so by Washington himself. The veil that usually hangs over the transactions of the secret service is tightly drawn in this case, and we are largely left to conjecture as to Knowlton's presentation of the subject. Of one thing only have we positive information, and that is, that among his officers Captain Nathan Hale, after conversations with his colonel, became deeply impressed with the situation and the unexpected duty which seemed to devolve on some one in his corps. The question broke full upon him, at first perhaps like a shadow, and again like a summons— Shall he become a spy?

There could have been no climax or dramatic incidents, as usually represented, connected with Hale's acceptance of this service. Out of keeping with his character, inconsistent with military usage, and not well authenticated, they may be discarded as weakening the otherwise sustained and winning

naturalness of the story.¹ It is just at this point that the young patriot reveals himself and shines in his own light. He does not act from impulse. Fortunately, we have an expression of his views in the case, and know what considerations moved him. In so grave a matter he would seek advice, and to no one could he open his mind more freely than to his college associate and fellow captain, William Hull. From the latter we have the substance of the interview. "There was no young man," writes this officer, "who gave fairer promise of an enlightened and devoted service to his country than this my friend and companion in arms. His naturally fine intellect had been carefully cultivated, and his heart was filled with generous emotions; but, like the soaring eagle, the patriotic ardour of his soul 'winged the dart which caused his destruction.' After his interview with Colonel Knowlton,

¹Stuart has generally been followed in his description of a meeting between Knowlton and his officers, where, after an appeal in the name of Washington for a volunteer to enter the enemy's lines, with no response from any one, there presently "came a voice with the painfully thrilling yet cheering words—'*I will undertake it!*' That was the voice of Captain Nathan Hale. He had come late into the assembly of officers. Scarcely yet recovered from a severe illness, his face still pale, without his accustomed strength of body, yet firm and ardent as ever of soul, he volunteered at once, reckless of its danger, and though doubtless appalled, not vanquished by its disgrace, to discharge the repudiated trust." Stuart probably accepted some tradition to this effect. Hull, however, tells us that Hale had the matter under consideration and sought his advice. Sergeant Hempstead, the captain's attendant, states that he declined the proposition at first on account of recent illness, but accepted on further reflection.

he repaired to my quarters and informed me of what had passed. He remarked that he thought he owed to his country the accomplishment of an object so important and so much desired by the commander of her armies, and he knew of no other mode of obtaining the information than by assuming a disguise and passing into the enemy's camp. He asked my candid opinion."¹ Hull then replied, as he tells us, by laying before Hale the hateful service of a spy, and his own unfitness for the rôle, as being too frank and open for deceit and evasion, and warned him of the consequences. He predicted, indeed, that should he undertake the enterprise, his short, bright career would close with an ignominious death.

In Hale's reply, spoken, says Hull, with warmth and decision, we have a fitting prelude to his dying words: "I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation. But for a year I have been attached to the army, and have not rendered any material service while receiving a compensation for which I make no return. Yet I am not influenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; I wish to be useful, and

¹ The information Washington needed is indicated on pp. 90-93. He wanted frequent intelligence on two points—when will the British be ready to cross the East River or make any movement, and where will they attack?

Hull's memoirs, from which the above quotations are taken, were not published until 1847; but in her history of New England, Hannah Adams published a special account of Hale, written by Hull. This was in 1799, when the facts were comparatively fresh in his memory. The memoir gives further particulars.



every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service its claims to perform that service are imperious."

Once more Hull urged him, for love of country and of kindred, to abandon the project. Hale paused a moment, then affectionately taking his companion by the hand, added as he went out: "I will reflect, and do nothing but what duty demands." When Hull next heard of him it was the shocking word that his prediction had proved true.

That Hale should take so lofty and unusual a view of the obligations of the service upon him, when others did not, needs no other explanation than one finds in his own words and in his training and moral fiber. It was his view of duty. There was something of what has been called the Puritan inwardness in the process by which he reached his decision. In the previous century he would have made a soldier after Cromwell's own heart—an Ironside who could pray mightily and fight as he prayed. If a service was to be performed which the crisis demanded, in the performance of it all consequences were to be excluded from consideration. In this case the situation seemed to the earnest youth to require the highest and most unselfish effort. Washington's latest order, following the retreat from Long Island, called especially upon the officers of all grades "to exert themselves and gloriously determine to conquer

or die," and Hale's answer came in the resolution he now formed.

This question—the momentous question of his life—thus settled, the patriot captain left camp on his perilous mission, with the calm and sustaining courage, we must believe, which such a decision would inspire. The time of his departure can be fixed with some degree of accuracy through his brother Enoch, who notes in his diary that it was "about the second week" of September, or approximately the 10th or 12th of the month. Guided by the recollections of his sergeant, Hempstead, who, at Hale's request, accompanied him a certain distance as an attendant, we can also trace his steps well towards his destination. The safest route lay across the Sound and along the roads of Long Island, around to the rear of the British army on the East River. This was one of the lines of secret communication effectively utilized by Washington in later years, and he may have indicated it for the present initial venture.¹ With a general order in his pocket from the Commander-in-Chief to the captains of armed craft to convey him to any point he might designate, Hale proceeded through West-

¹ Whether Hale received instructions as to his route and the information required directly from Washington or from the latter through Colonel Knowlton, is not clear. It was necessary for the Commander-in-Chief to give his consent to the enterprise. Hempstead implies that the captain twice visited headquarters on the business,—headquarters then being at the Mortier house on the west side, above the line of present Canal Street.

chester County into Connecticut, where no opportunity of crossing offered until he reached Norwalk.¹ Had he attempted the start from a point further west—from Throg's Neck, City Island, or New Rochelle—the risks would have been great, for British men-of-war were hovering in the vicinity, with their tenders scouring the shores for skiffs and boats. As this was one of the objects of Hale's errand, to ascertain what movement these ships might be trying to blind or directly facilitate, it behooved him, above all things, to avoid them at this stage of his route.

At Norwalk, Hale found an armed sloop, in command, as Hempstead states, of a Captain Pond, with whom he arranged to be set across the Sound at Huntington, Long Island, twelve or fifteen miles distant. There are grounds for inferring that this was Charles Pond, of Milford, Connecticut, one of Hale's fellow-captains in the Nineteenth Regiment, necessarily well known to him, and whose own hardy and daring spirit would lead him to further his comrade's enterprise.

How Captain Pond came to be in the naval service and at Norwalk at this particular moment revives some incidents in the exciting warfare of the Revolutionary privateers of which as yet we know but little. In this instance the documents of the time help us to the extent that among the vessels


¹ A brief note on the crossing-place is given in the Appendix.

which the Provincial Convention of New York had fitted out to guard the coast were two armed sloops named the *Montgomery* and the *Schuyler*, commanded respectively by Captains William Rogers and James Smith. In May, 1776, Smith resigned his commission and the *Schuyler* passed as a Continental sloop under the command of Captain Pond, who, as one of the skilful sailors in his regiment, was probably detached for temporary service at sea. During the summer these two small vessels cruised from Sandy Hook to Montauk Point and sent their prizes into Rhode Island and Connecticut or stranded them in the inlets of the South Shore. On June 19th, Pond reported to Washington the capture, off Fire Island, of an English merchantman with a valuable cargo, which Washington in turn was gratified to report to Congress. With the defeat on Long Island, the successful run of these vessels was cut short. The enemy's ships—among them the *Cerberus*, *Merlin* and *Syren*—became more active and drove the American craft into safer waters. The *Montgomery* and the *Schuyler*, which at times cruised in company, slipped by these watch-dogs, and about September 3d sailed into New London harbor. A few days later one of them certainly, and doubtless both, reported at Norwalk. Hale would thus find them there on his arrival. The usual ferry to Long Island, run by the Raymonds of Norwalk, had been interrupted by the presence in that vicinity of the





Hale's Route into the British Lines
with
Norwalk and Huntington Memorials



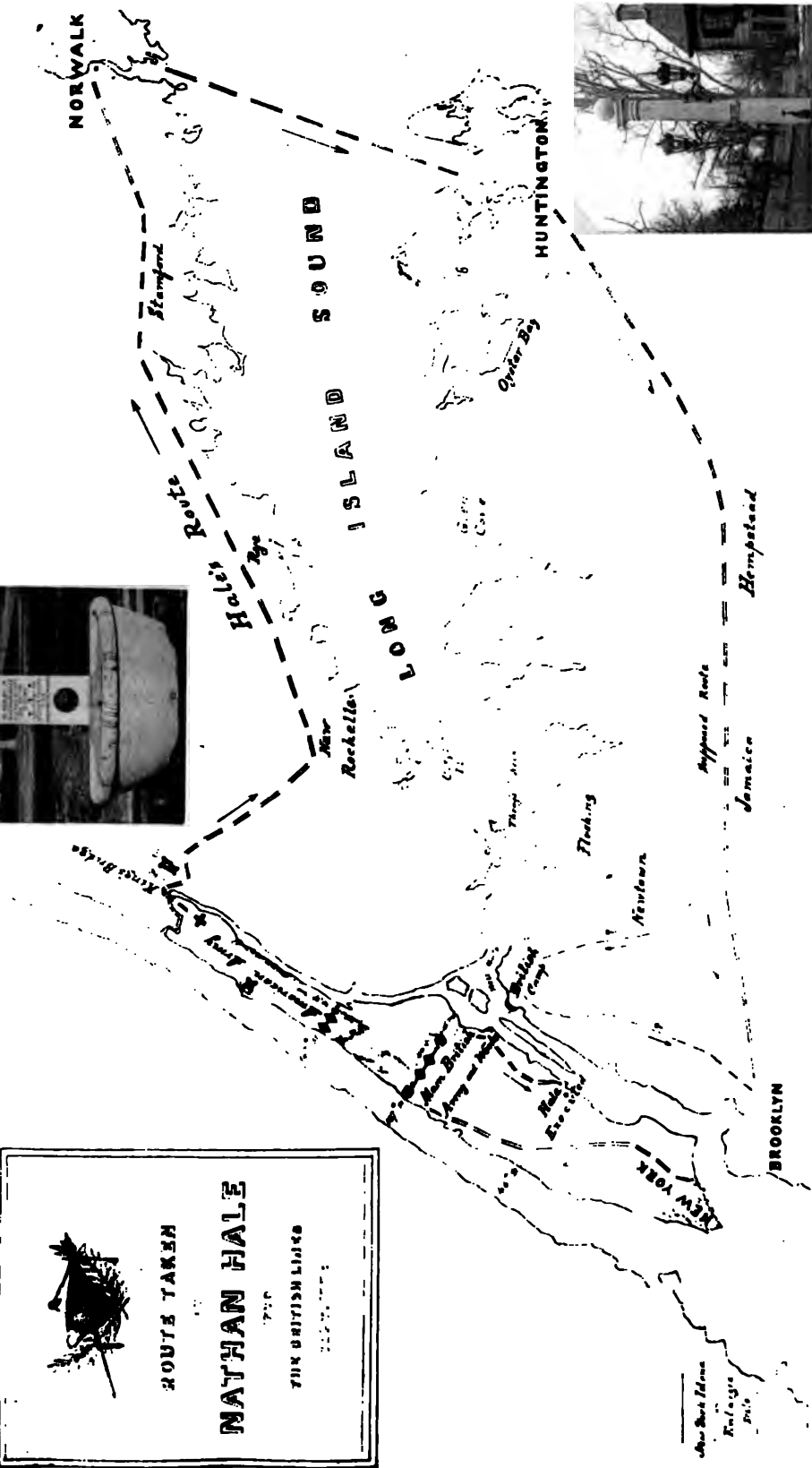
ROUTE TAKEN

NATHAN HALE

 1776

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British twelve-gun brig *Halifax*, commanded by Captain Quarme, and in her unpublished log we find an entry which seems to be confirmatory of the foregoing and may furnish the approximate date of Hale's crossing. Cruising off Huntington on the 17th, Quarme learned that "two rebel privateers" had been seen in the neighborhood.¹ Suspecting that they might be lurking in the inlets of the bay, he armed his boats and tenders and sent them in search of the craft, but without result. These privateers could have been none other than the *Montgomery* and the *Schuyler*, still keeping in company, and to be reported on the 17th they must have crossed on the night of the 15th or 16th. It was from the *Schuyler*, then,—Captain Pond's vessel,—we have every reason to believe, that Hale landed on the Huntington shore on one of these dates—the days of the loss of New York and the battle of Harlem Heights.

The final preparations, in themselves enough to test both nerve and soul, had been made at Norwalk, and Hale was ready. It is from Hempstead alone that we have the few details. "Captain Hale," he tells us, "had changed his uniform for a plain suit of citizen's brown clothes, with a round, broad brimmed hat; assuming the character of a Dutch schoolmaster, leaving all his other clothes,

¹From "A Log of the Proceedings of H^t Majesty's Armd Brigg *Halifax*. . . . Will^m Quarme, Commander, by Ab^m Pulliblack Q^t Master & Pilot."—*London Record Office*.

commission, public and private papers with me, and also his silver shoe buckles, saying they would not comport with his character of schoolmaster, and retaining nothing but his college diploma, as an introduction to his assumed calling. Thus equipped, we parted for the last time in life. He went on his mission and I returned back again to Norwalk with orders to stop there till he should return, or I hear from him, as he expected to cross the Sound if he succeeded in his object."

A Dutch schoolmaster with a New England diploma! The pleasantry may have come from the strong and expectant youth, but in any case, Dutch or Yankee, if he was to play his part in broad daylight the schoolmaster's was his natural rôle.

Here on the shores of Huntington Bay, where he landed, until the fatal night of his capture Hale is completely lost to our view. He had crossed the danger line into the enemy's territory and we cannot follow him further except as the briefest allusions appear from British sources. At the point where we would wish to keep pace with him the curtain falls with an abrupt concealment of what must have been a deeply interesting and possibly thrilling experience. One thing may be noticed. Soon after landing he necessarily learned that New York had been captured on the 15th and the Americans defeated and crowded back to the heights above Harlem. On that date, as stated,

Lord Howe had made his delayed attack, and by nightfall was in possession of the city and two thirds of the island. The wearing anxiety as to his movements was over, and Hale was too late for the immediate information Washington needed. The situation had materially changed in a day and the question could well force itself upon him whether he should not return to camp, where service with his Rangers might prove more important. The circumstances would seem to have entirely justified this step. But he went on. With his sense of duty as controlling as ever, and his soldierly pride more immediately touched now that he stood on hostile soil, he doubtless felt that if another defeat had befallen his comrades, a greater anxiety prevailed as to the enemy's next movements, and that he must continue in his effort for their relief. His persistence at this point, where he could have returned with honor, again foreshadows the heroism with which he will accept his fate.

Beyond noting certain facts and inferences which bear upon the point, there would be little to gain in speculating on Hale's course and methods during the six or seven days in which he was now to play the spy. At Huntington he was still some forty miles distant from his objective point,—the main British army on New York Island,—and with the caution required in making his way, it would take him one third or more of the time to reach it.

There were also the camps on the Long Island side opposite Hell Gate, with the suspicious ships, boats and tenders scattered towards Throg's Neck, and of these he must learn as much as possible. In passing along the roads in the rear of the army from Huntington through Hempstead and Jamaica, or around by Flushing and Newtown, and on to New York City by way of Brooklyn, now Fulton, Ferry—whatever route he followed—he should have found the moment favorable in one respect. With the battle of Long Island and the loss of New York regarded as crushing defeats for the Americans, the Tories in King's and Queen's counties were in high glee in anticipation of the speedy end of the rebellion. The old authority was re-established. The lukewarm were taking the oath of allegiance. Generals Erskine and Delancey were already suppressing the Whigs. Loyalists were enlisting. There was more going to and fro on the highways. A rebel spy would hardly be looked for there. If Hale was brought up with a round turn to account for himself, he could readily explain that he was one of the Connecticut refugees who were just then beginning to cross the Sound singly or in small parties. Without friends, he could claim the king's protection and seek employment in New York. On the other hand, at times, some untoward circumstance, some strict regulation, some ungrounded fear putting him on his guard, he may

have concealed himself during the day and moved anxiously along in the shadows of the night. It may also be pointed out that he would be wary as to how he showed himself in the city. Much of the old population, the poorer element especially, unable to leave with the Americans or happy at the change of masters, remained. Hale had been encamped there five months. There were negroes, laborers, loiterers, sharp-eyed boys, market-people, innkeepers and others who would recognize and might face him at any turn. His striking features and manly form could hardly be disguised. Peculiar dangers as well as opportunities presented themselves. Who can tell how that critical interval was passed? The movements of spies seldom come to light,—the case of André, so remarkably consecutive in detail, being a rare exception or more properly a case of a different character.

Of this we seem to be certain—the assurance coming from the British themselves—that down to the moment of arrest Hale had conducted his desperate and unfamiliar business with courage, skill and address. At the time of his capture his observations as a spy had been completed. The important fact comes to us from Howe's own headquarters, that upon examination of the prisoner it was found that he had passed through their encampments both on Long Island and at New York, and had made memoranda of the situation. This was

an adroit and successful piece of work. The main body of the enemy, as already indicated, then lay across Manhattan Island, along the general line of One Hundred and Seventh Street, where they had begun to intrench and fortify after the action of the 16th. If the memoranda found on Hale's person included drawings or outlines of works, the works must have been these they were now busily constructing. There were no others. It was a line of five or six redouts, running east and west, three of which stood on the high ground at the upper end of present Central Park.¹ Whether Hale caught glimpses of their outline stealthily, or was able to examine them as one of many onlookers permitted to visit the camps, can only be conjectured. But if he were actually there, what sensations must have moved him at the moment! From the Central Park site he was but one mile away from, and in full view of, the American outposts at Point of Rocks, near Eighth Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Street. To the east of that point were the quarters of his own company of Rangers. Near by, on the heights to the west, lay the field of the Harlem battle, and to it his eyes must have longingly turned as for the first time he may have learned, from the casual conversations of British sol-

¹ The position of this line and of the British army generally at this date may be seen in the chart opposite p. 50 in the "Battle of Harlem Heights." It is indicated on a small scale in the present work on the map showing Hale's route into the British camps.

diers, that there the rebels had fought like heroes, and that none fell more bravely than their leader Knowlton. The associations would crowd upon him, and doubly so, for to reach his own army across the plain seemed but a step.

The week passed and the end came. On the evening of September 22d the regular daily orders from the British commander-in-chief to his army contained an unusual announcement—nothing quite like it to be repeated during the war—which doubtless afforded the gossip around the camp-fires that night, some of the red-coats listening with merely passing curiosity, and others indulging in contemptuous hilarity and satisfaction that the rebels were getting their deserts in whatever game they played. On the same evening the information was conveyed to the American lines, to fall heavily on the ears of Hale's friends and companions in arms. With official brevity the paragraph in the order ran:

“Head Q^r New York Island, Sep^r: 22^d: 1776
Parole, London
Count: Great Britain
A spy from the Enemy (by his own full confession)
apprehended last night, was this day Executed at
11 oClock in front of the Artillery Park — ”

Precisely when, where and under what circumstances Hale was captured and executed has been a matter of tradition and uncertainty. Until Howe's



orders came to light a few years since,¹ concisely establishing several of the disputed points, the accounts as given by Stuart and Lossing were generally followed. From the new and final authority we know that Hale was "apprehended" on the night of September 21st, that he was executed at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 22d, and that the place of his execution was the camp of the British artillery, wherever its location may have been at that date. As to the place of his capture, on which the order throws no light except indirectly, Stuart was the first biographer to attempt to fix it definitely, resting his theory on recollections and circumstances gathered in his day. It was then believed that after successfully completing his observations, Captain Hale returned to Huntington, as he had told Hempstead that he expected to do, where he spent some hours in waiting or looking for a boat to convey him back to Norwalk. As he approached the shore at one point, he suddenly found himself the victim of treachery or his own misapprehension, and he was seized. The boat that he saw proved to be a barge from the *Halifax*, or, according to another account, from the *Cerberus*, and its crew, with leveled muskets, called on him to surrender as he turned to

¹ The late Mr. William Kelby, librarian of the New York Historical Society, was the first to discover this important order. As an indefatigable student of local history, he was much interested in Hale's career and fate in New York.

escape. His arrest followed and he was sent by water to be delivered up at Howe's headquarters in New York.

No inherent improbability attaches to the main statement in this account, that Hale returned to Huntington. Taking two or three days to reach New York, two days in the enemy's camp, and two or three days on the way back, and the trip was possible. One line in the British order, however, seems to undermine the supposition. As the prisoner was captured on "the night" of the 21st, and was in the hands of the provost-marshal some hours before his execution, it would have been impossible to bring him from Huntington in any interval that might be left. In addition, the alleged circumstances of his capture are unlikely, vague and inconsistent. For one thing, neither the *Halifax* nor the *Cerberus* was off Huntington at this date. The latter, as its log informs us, was stationed at Block Island. The log of the former, in which every incident appears to be noticed, makes no mention of anything so creditable to her crew as the capture of a spy. All that Captain Quarme is represented to have said about and in praise of Hale must be dismissed as purely mythical.

On the other hand, the contemporary references and the probabilities in the case all point to New York or its immediate vicinity as the place of Hale's capture. Late in the evening of the 22d, Captain

John Montessor, of the British Engineers, now serving as aide-de-camp to Lord Howe, appeared under flag of truce at the American outposts on Harlem Plains. He was bearer of a letter to Washington respecting the exchange of prisoners. Among those who went down to meet him were Adjutant-General Reed, General Putnam, Captain Alexander Hamilton and Captain William Hull. To them Montessor verbally gave the information that one Captain Hale, an American officer, had been executed that morning as a spy. It was startling news, and to Hull it came like a shock. What further facts the latter obtained will presently appear; but the impression was conveyed that Hale was captured "within the British lines." A week later the terrible word reached Hale's family. Crushed by the reports and anxious to know all, Enoch Hale rode down to camp and gathered what particulars were to be had. In his diary he enters the important fact, new in this connection, that he received information through "aide-de-camp Webb with a flag." This must have been Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel B. Webb, then one of Washington's staff, and the implication is strong that he was the bearer of his chief's reply to Howe a few days later, and was instructed at the same time to make further inquiries into Hale's case. Too brief is Enoch's memorandum to satisfy our deep interest right here, but still to the point. Webb brought word, he

writes, that Nathan, "being suspected by his movements that he wanted to get out of New York, was taken up and examined by the general, and, some minutes being found with him, orders were immediately given that he should be hanged. When at the gallows, he spoke and told that he was a Captain in the Continental army, by name Nathan Hale." Enoch took the distressing details home, and subsequently his brother John made this entry in the town records of Coventry: "Capt. Nathan Hale, the son of Deacⁿ Richard Hale was taken in the City of New York by the Britons and Executed as a spie some time in the Month of September A.D. 1776." Sergeant Hempstead, Asher Wright, Hale's waiter, and the first letter published giving any particulars in the case, February 13, 1777, all state that the capture took place in New York.

How Hale attempted to make his escape, what his movements were by which it was suspected, as Enoch states, that "he wanted to get out of New York," has yet to come to light. Hempstead's understanding was that he endeavored to pass the British pickets on the Harlem front, somewhere along the line of One Hundred and Tenth or Twelfth streets, from which he could quickly reach the outposts of his own camp. This is entirely probable. The great fire in New York which broke out that morning was laid to secret rebel incendiaries, and he would keep away from the strictly guarded fer-

ries. Finding that concealment was hourly becoming more difficult, or that a plausible account of himself would be immediately and closely investigated, he may have resolved to make a dash for freedom across the lines. Or, to notice a later supposition, he may have succeeded in crossing the East River and was arrested on that side. But whether challenged at the picket posts or halted by the patrols of the provost-marshal, Hale's fate was sealed. "Apprehended last night" is all that we certainly know, but the reference clearly limits the locality to the vicinity of the British army.

Upon the capture of New York, the British generals established their headquarters in the finest country-seats to be found in the neighborhood of the camps. Lord Howe selected the beautiful residence of James Beekman, overlooking the East River at Turtle Bay. Its site was at the corner of Fifty-first Street and First Avenue. Earl Percy was five streets above, on what was then known as the Hurst and afterwards the Thomas Buchanan estate. Sir Henry Clinton would have been found in a house still further up, near Hell Gate Ferry, and Cornwallis quartered apparently in the handsome Apthorpe place on the west side. It was to the Beekman mansion, or one of its outlying buildings, as believed, that Captain Hale was taken on the night of the 21st. Reported as a suspicious character, or caught in an attempt to escape to the rebels, it was

a case of sufficient importance to lay before Lord Howe himself. A brief examination followed. Pointed questions were put, and then the prisoner searched for concealed papers. Such were found, consisting, according to Hull, of sketches of fortifications and military notes, and they convicted him. Taken up—examined by the general—minutes found upon his person—is the condensed but certain record. There was but one conclusion—the prisoner was a spy; and for a spy no mercy is conceivable,—the only mercy lying in the summary punishment meted out. The proofs before him, Howe immediately issued an order for Hale's execution.

Suddenly and relentlessly as this examination and sentence came, they were relieved by one bright passage whose deeper meaning the British general could not have appreciated. Four words in his order announcing Hale's fate have a precious value for this story. In telling his troops that this was a spy on "his own full confession," it was doubtless to present it not only as a clear but also as an aggravated case, illustrating the American method of warfare, in which spies confessed to their employment, and thus directly implicating Washington and Congress. But to those who have come to know Hale, "his own full confession" carries in it the ring of his character and knightly manhood. His honor and his patriotism asserted themselves in this most trying moment. More than one high-minded

British officer must have felt that it was no mean, mercenary fellow who had been hanged that morning, but a brave opponent, after all, who could frankly acknowledge his purpose and stoutly face the consequences. Montessor, for one, must have thought so. Next to having Hale's dying words, we would wish to know how he answered Howe that night, when confronted with the evidence of his errand. No explanation, no evasion, no base cringing with an offer to enlist in his army, no cowardly cry for pardon could come from him. That he gave his name at once, also his rank in the Continental army, and stated his object in entering the British lines, we casually know through Hull from Montessor; but what more might he not have confessed—his love for his Washington, his hopes for the new nation and his conviction of final success? In this full admission it is still the Hale whom we have been following that we see—the true, self-poised, undaunted youth, whose ingrained nobility no circumstance or peril could affect.

As tradition goes, the prisoner was guarded that night in the greenhouse of the Beekman gardens. Hardly probable, as generally supposed, that for the few hours remaining he would be taken to the city jail, the present Hall of Records, four miles away. Such a prisoner would be remanded to the keeping of the provost-marshal of the army, whose quarters were near the commanding general's. This pro-

vost-marshal was William Cunningham, a man with whom all the cruelties of the prison-houses in New York during the Revolution are associated. We need not dwell upon his record. As yet he had had less to do with American captives than with British offenders. Perhaps it was the terror of his name that made Howe's Newtown orders of September 6th all the more effective: "The Provost Martial has a commission to execute upon the spot any soldier he finds guilty of marauding." Executions may have already become an old story with him.

With the next morning—Sunday, September 22, 1776—we have the closing incidents, the brief preparations, and the final scene. Hale's last hours in the greenhouse could have been spent only as a man brought up under the Christian influences of the time would spend them. Sleepless they would be, with the great struggle within him—every tender association rushing upon his memory and welling up in his heart; then the fervent prayers, the visions of the opening heaven, the resulting deep and calm resignation, and, above all, the glorious uplifting thought that he was to fall, with so many others before and after him, in a cause worth any sacrifice. The inhuman Cunningham, we are told, refused him the attendance of a clergyman or the use of a Bible. As the time approached and there was some delay, Captain Mon-

tressor requested the provost-marshal to permit the prisoner to sit in his tent—on or close to the Beekman grounds it would be¹—until the preparations were completed. Hale entered and “bore himself with gentle dignity.” He asked for writing-materials, which Montessor furnished him, and he wrote two letters, one to his mother² and one to a brother officer. They never reached their destination. “The Provost Martial,” says Hull, “in the diabolical spirit of cruelty, destroyed the letters of the prisoner, and assigned as a reason ‘that the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness.’”

When, four years later, Major André was executed in the American lines, a certain military dignity was observed in the parade of troops, the formation of a square, the erection of a gibbet, and in the gathering of many spectators. But André was adjutant-general of the British army and his case involved the corruption and treason of an Arnold. The occasion was made impressive. For Hale, a rebel and self-confessed spy, there was no such ceremony. Towards eleven o'clock he was marched off by files of the provost-guard to

¹ Necessarily, for he was Howe's aide. “On the morning of the execution my station was near the fatal spot,” are Montessor's words as reported by Hull.

² It so appears in Hull's memoirs. As Hale's own mother was not living, possibly this should be “brother.” Enoch or his father would be his first thought in his family.

some convenient tree, no doubt, in front of a neighboring camp. They would not take him far. The long accepted tradition that Hale was executed in Colonel Henry Rutgers' orchard, overlooking the river at the foot of the present East Broadway, then on the outskirts of the city, must give way with other traditions before the official order of September 22d.¹ That order informs us unmistakably that the execution took place "in front of the Artillery Park"; and from the entries of the same order-book and other authoritative records it is possible to fix its site with satisfactory accuracy. As might properly be assumed from what has already appeared, this park could have been at no great distance from the Beekman mansion. The references all indicate that it was immediately south of it, on the adjoining grounds—the grounds of the old Turtle Bay farm, then belonging to the heirs of Admiral Sir Peter Warren. The bay itself was a deep notch in the rocky shore extending from the present Forty-fifth to Forty-eighth Street, on the south side of which stood a dock and two government powder-magazines of colonial days. Near these buildings would have been found encamped, in the summer of 1766, a part of the city's garri-

¹The site seemed to be established years ago, on the testimony of two old men who claimed to have witnessed Hale's execution there. Stuart was at a loss in the case, but assumed that the place must have been near the city jail, or somewhere on Chambers Street.

son consisting of two hundred men of the Royal Artillery, with eight field-guns and four heavy siege-pieces. Occasionally they drilled on a large plain a mile above them, which was probably the site of the proposed Hamilton Square of later days, extending easterly from the Seventh Regiment Armory. At one corner of it, about Sixty-sixth Street and Third Avenue, there stood the "Dove Tavern," a well-known inn on the main highway. When, now ten years later, the British were on these shores again, their artillery was parked on the same site at Turtle Bay. The corps being very much larger than in 1766, a portion of it, as it would seem, moved a little later to the field near the tavern. From the Beekman house one could look down across a lot and running brook to the original camp. It may be pertinently noted that on the very day of Hale's capture an order respecting the issue of provisions to the army directed the artillery to receive theirs "at Turtle Bay." As to the "front" of the park, or the spot to which the prisoner had now been brought, we may locate it approximately near the corner of Forty-fifth Street and First Avenue.¹

Here Hale stood pinioned and guarded—here, where less than six months before he had landed

¹ Further reference to the place of Hale's capture and execution, also to Captains Hull, Montessor and Pond, appears in the notes in the Appendix.

Head Q^{rs} New York Island, Sept^r 22^d 1776

Parole - Indians

Count: Great Britain

The 2^d & 6th Brigades & 3^d Battⁿ of
Light Infantry & Artillery as ordered for to
day are to March to Mor^g: at 9 o'clock under
the Command of Lieut^{nt} G. Percy

The Packet for Europe will be ready to
sail Tuesday the 24th Inst^t

A Spy for the Enemy (by his own full
Confession) Apprehended Last night, was
this day Executed at 11 o'clock in front
of the Artillery Park



Order on Hale's Execution



From Original in New York Historical Society

Site of Hale's Execution



Flac 2^o New York Island Sept 22 1776

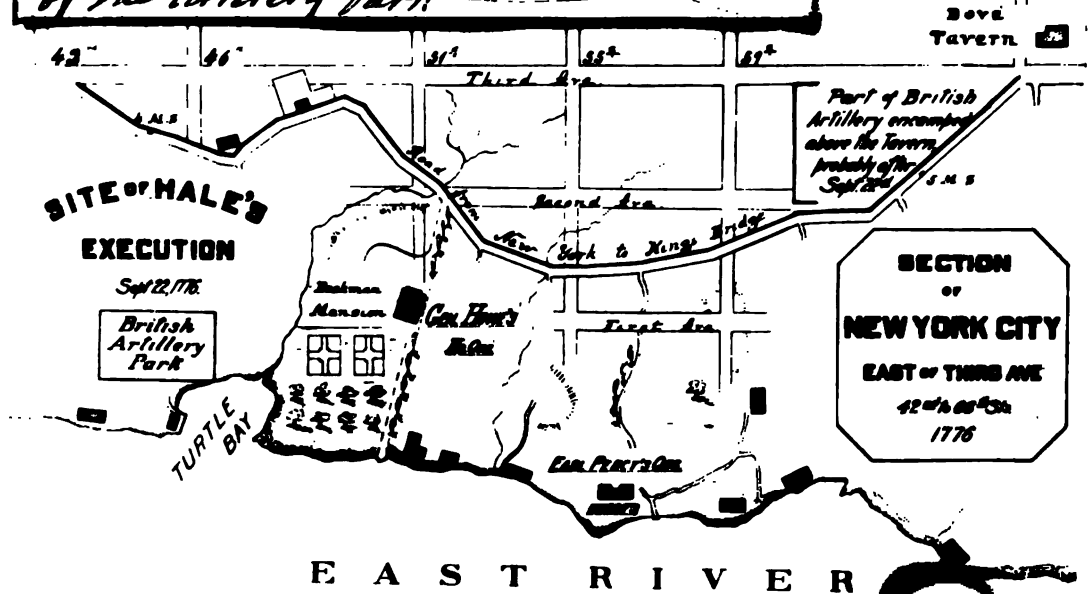
Parole London

Count: Great Britain

The 2^d & 6th Brigades & 3^d Batt: of
Light Infantry & Artillery as orderd for to
day are to March to Mor: at 9 o'clock under
the Command of Gen: P. Percy

The Packet for Europe will be ready to
sail Tuesday the 24th Inst:

A Spy for the Enemy (by his own full
Confession) Apprehended Last night, was
this day Executed at 11 o'clock in front
of the Artillery Park.





with his regiment fresh from the Boston success and eager for a greater one at New York. For him the scene had changed. The same blue bay and river, the same rugged banks, more beautiful in their verdure, and the same stately mansion were in the view; but all were to fade before the overwhelming fact that he was now at the very center of the British army and held in its merciless grip. In the distance were the enemy's battle-ships and transports, the dock was piled with supplies and material of war, the field in front was brilliant with the equipage of the most powerful arm of the king's service. In this respect at least the youth was not to die obscurely. It was a striking turn of incidents, but for his memory a most happy one, that brought this condemned American spy to his grave under the very shadow of Lord Howe's headquarters. But for this should we ever have been able to be with him in his last moments, to be assured once more of the constancy of his devotion and hear the noble words of his dying breath? It is significant that the closing details come to us through a British staff officer and a witness of the execution. Most fortunate, too, that they were repeated by him on the same day, under flag of truce, to one of Hale's sincerest friends—the friend whose advice he sought before undertaking his mission—the friend whose memory would retain and cherish such an interview through life. With the execution oc-

curring elsewhere, in another presence, in or near the city, perhaps before a gaping or brutal crowd, this record we would not be without might never have been preserved—nothing beyond the hardened message that the missing captain had suffered as a spy. The locality and surroundings are all-important. Not only do they enable us to fill out the story in the sunlight of its close, but they seem to assure us, also, that no unnecessary indignities attended the prisoner's death. Whatever the unfeeling Cunningham may have said or done—we are happily spared that knowledge—no insulting throng could have gathered to the spot. A few officers and artillerymen, some camp-followers, the stolid provost-guard, looked on, and the end came with its quick, unceremonious, cruel work.

But above its assumed ignominy the end came gloriously. As for the fated youth, he died as we have been expecting him to die, as all true souls have died in the loyal performance of duty—calmly, bravely, with one fervent wish for the cause he could no longer serve. There was no scenic effect. Little could Hale have imagined that what he might say to his executioner and his enemies around him would ever reach the ears of his comrades. From the foot of the Beekman slopes it could be and was destined to be heard. Not many words would he be allowed or would he care to speak, nor were they to be words of defiance or execration, or of sounding prediction



that Britain's efforts would fail. No occasion will he give the spectators to drown his words with gibes and sneering laughter. His heart was elsewhere, steadfast and absorbed as ever in the great movement in which he and his loved companions were engaged. His enemies will hear something unexpected—something a few may reflect upon—something My Lord Howe's aide will think worth reporting across the lines. In the rebel and the spy before them did they see the enduring faith and unconquerable spirit of America? Hardly could the face and form of this young scholar, teacher, soldier and now the most devoted of patriots, have impressed them as the embodiment of a senseless revolt. For us Hale stands there as an inspiration—the genius of the new land to which he would devote all and more than he can give. As the moments passed and few remained, the grim preparations—the ladder, the hangman, the grave at his feet—had no terrors for him. This death, with the traditional infamy men attached to it, he had already accepted, and he faced it heroically. The promptings in his breast were strong and irrepressible. He had something to say, whoever might hear. Among the faces turned upon him was there one with a touch of sympathy in the glance? It mattered little. First, as it would appear, he freely told them who he was and why he was there, and then, with the breath that was left him, came the inborn, spontaneous sentiment we

now carve in bronze and marble—the burning thought and emotion that filled his soul and broke out in words that move the souls of all who read them:

“I ONLY REGRET THAT I HAVE BUT ONE
LIFE TO LOSE FOR MY COUNTRY.”

Many years elapsed—half a century or more—before this martyr-like sacrifice met with any general recognition. It could not have been otherwise. Official mention of the case at the time was out of the question. Hale was engaged on secret and delicate business, and the result, whether favorable or unfavorable, it was not for the army to know. While nothing could be said or done—the execution, under military law, being entirely justifiable—it would appear that Washington was sensibly disturbed by the occurrence. Did he feel a certain responsibility in the case? Whatever may have passed between himself, Knowlton and Hale, he alone could give final permission and the orders enabling the latter to pass beyond the American lines. As the situation, however, justified almost any sacrifice, Washington would entertain no com-

punctions on that score. For the moment indignation prevailed at headquarters, and officers of the staff would have enjoyed the capture of some one on a similar errand in their own camp to hang in return. One of their number, Colonel Tench Tilghman, happened to be then engaged in a confidential correspondence with William Duer, chairman of the New York committee of safety, in regard to the disposition of certain Tories who had been arrested for organizing on New York territory. The State authorities being unwilling to go to extremes in the matter, one will find in Tilghman's manuscripts this reply which he sent to Duer, October 3, 1776: "I am sorry that your convention do not think themselves legally authorized to make examples of those Villians they have apprehended; if that is the case, the well-affected will be hardly able to keep a watch upon the ill. *The General is determined, if he can bring some of them in his hands under the denomination of Spies, to execute them.* General Howe hanged a Captain of ours belonging to Knowlton's Rangers who went into New York to make discoveries. I don't see why we should not make retaliation."¹ A few of these Tories having been taken to camp, Duer implored Tilghman: "In the name of Justice hang two or three of the Villians you have apprehended." All

¹ Italics the author's, who had an opportunity of examining these manuscripts some years ago.

were in the mood to visit vengeance somewhere, but proofs of guilt were wanting.

Four years later the slumbering memory of Hale was suddenly revived by the capture of André. Proofs enough then. While Hale's fate could not have affected the disposition of André's case, it is certain that officers of the army placed the two on the same footing. Nearly all of Hale's comrades were still in the field, and he could not be forgotten. If the American captain was a spy, so was this British prisoner, whatever his rank or plea. It was Tallmadge who first reminded André of his much-loved classmate, as he called him, and his arrest in the British lines in 1776. "Do you remember the sequel of the story?" he asked. "Yes," said André; "he was hanged as a spy. But you surely do not consider his case and mine alike?" "Yes; precisely similar," said Tallmadge, when pressed for a reply; "and similar will be your fate." From that date — 1780 — the names of Hale and André have been frequently associated by writers on the Revolution, and their characters and mission compared and contrasted. It is not as a spy, however, but as a soldier, that Hale stands on the records of the Continental army. One of the illustrations in these pages is the facsimile of a rare paper, the only known return of casualties in the Nineteenth Regiment, with the entry: Nathan Hale, "Captain, killed, September 22, 1776."

Among our earlier scholars and poets, Dwight remembered his lamented student-friend with deep feeling and appreciation. Could Hale have heard his instructor read from the pages of his "Conquest of Canaan" while he was composing it at college? The stately epic opens with scenes in the camp of the redoubtable Joshua. Before the chieftain lies a heathen city, and towards it he sends the faithful captain, Zimri, to spy out its defenses.

"In night's last gloom (so Joshua's will ordained)
To find what hopes the cautious foe remained,
Or what new strength, allied, increased their force,
To Ai's high walls the hero bent his course."

With him on the enterprise went forth his trusted companion, Aram.

"Aram, his friend,
With willing footsteps shared the dangerous way;
In virtue joined, one soul to both was given."

As they approached the city a lurking enemy pierced young Aram to the heart, while Zimri cut the assailant down in a quick but unavailing effort to protect his comrade. "Fond virtue" failed to save. When Dwight heard of Hale's fate, "emotions of regard," as he states, prompted him to associate his memory with the martyr of his own creation; and at this point he inserted the passage so often quoted:

“Thus, while fond virtue wished in vain to save,
Hale, bright and generous, found a hapless grave.
With genius' living flame his bosom glowed,
And Science lured him to her sweet abode;
In Worth's fair path his feet adventured far,
The pride of Peace, the rising hope of War;
In duty firm, in danger calm as even —
To friends unchanging, and sincere to Heaven.
How short his course, the prize how early won,
While weeping Friendship mourns her favorite gone.”

With this tribute from one of the worthiest men of the time we close these pages. Such testimony to Hale's character, aspirations and promise, and the testimony of friends and foes alike to the brand of his patriotism and the grandeur of his sacrifice, present a life to be remembered. The shortness of its years is immaterial — on the contrary, its charm and its suggestion. There can be power in youth as well as in manhood. Historical names and careers commanding our respect and admiration exist in profusion — to the honor of human nature be it said. But with Hale there is something rarer — he is endeared to us. We are embalming his memory in the customary forms, but it also appeals most touchingly as a personal heirloom.





Statue of Hale, Capitol Building, Hartford



APPENDIX

HALE'S CORRESPONDENCE, ARMY
DIARY, TRIBUTES,
MEMORIALS,
NOTES





HALE'S LETTERS

No. 1

HALE TO HIS CLASSMATE THOMAS MEAD
AT NEW HAVEN

S^r

This is the first opportunity I have had of acknowledging your favour of last winter. I was, at the receipt of your letter, in East Haddam (alias Modos), a place, which I at first, for a long time, concluded inaccessible, either by friends, acquaintance or letters. Nor was I convinced of the contrary untill I re[cei]ved yours, & at the same time, two others from Alden and Wyllys. Which made me, if possible, value your letter the more.—

It was equally or more difficult, to convey anything from Modos. True, I saw the bearer of yours (Mr. Medcaff) some few days before he set out for New Haven, and desired the favour of se[n]ding some letters by him. Accordingly I had written letters to you, Alden and Wyllys with one or two others; but upon enquiry, I found that Mr. Medcaff was gone too soon for me. Since which I have scarce had an opportunity of sending towards N. Haven.—

I want much to receive a letter from you and a full

history of the transactions of the winter. I have heard many flying reports, but know not what to conclude as to the truth of them. Upon the whole I take it for certain, that the *Quintumviri* have been massacred, but in what manner I have not been sufficiently informed. From what I can collect, I think probable you have had some *big doings* this winter, but expect a more full account of these matters in your next.¹

I am at present in a School in New London. I think my situation somewhat preferable to what it was last winter. My school is by no means difficult to take care of. It consists of about 30 scholars, ten of whom are Latiners and all but six of the rest are writers. I have a very convenient schoolhouse, and the people are kind and sociable.— I promise myself some more satisfaction in writing and receiving letters from you than I have as yet had. I know of no stated communication, but without any doubt opportunities will be much more frequent than while I was at Modos.— For the greater part of the last year, we were good neighbours, and I always thought, very good friends. Surely so good on my part, that it would be matter of real grief to me, should our friendship cease.— The only means for maintaining it is in constant writing: in the practice of which I am ready most heartily to concur with you; and do hope ever to remain, as at present,

Your Friend and

Constant well-wisher

New London, May 2^d

NATHAN HALE.

AD 1774 Mr. Mead.

[From the original MSS. in possession of Major Godfrey A. S. Wieners, College Point, Long Island. Published in full. Stuart gives extracts from it.]

¹ This probably refers to incidents at college, perhaps connected with his society, Linonia.

No. 2

HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH AT LYME

[NEW LONDON, Se]pt. 8th, 1774-*Dear Brother,*

I have a word to write and a minute to write it in. I received yours of yesterday this morning. Agreeable to your desire I will endeavour [to] get the cloth and carry it over Saturday. I have no news. No liberty-pole is erected or erecting here; but the people seem much more spirited than they were before the alarm. Parson Peters of Hebron, I hear, has had a second visit paid him by the sons of liberty in Win[d]ham. His treatment and the concessions he made I have not as yet heard. I have not heard from home since I came from there.

Your loving Brother,

NATHAN HALE.

Mr. E. Hale, Lyme.

[From the original MSS. in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Roxbury, Massachusetts. Now first published.]

No. 3

HALE TO HIS UNCLE, SAMUEL HALE, AT PORTSMOUTH,
NEW HAMPSHIRENEW LONDON, Conn., Sept. 24th, 1774-*Respected Uncle:*

My visit to Portsmouth last fall served only to increase the nearness of your family and make [me] the more desirous of seeing them again. But this is a happiness which at present I have but little prospect of enjoying. The

most I now hope for is that I may now and then have the satisfaction to hear from my Uncle and Cousins by letter.

I can tell you but little of my father or his family, being situated about 30 miles from them. I have not visited them for near three months, but have heard from them somewhat indirectly within a few days. I understand they are well. My eldest sister (Elizabeth) was married last winter (as you have doubtless heard) to Sam^l Rose, son to Doct^r Rose, and has, as I suppose, a prospect of a very comfortable living. As to any further particulars of my Father or his Family, I can mention nothing. My own employment is at present the same that you spent your days in. I have a school of 32 boys, about half Latin, the rest English. The salary allowed me is 70£ per annum. In addition to this, I have kept during the summer, a morning school, between the hours of five and seven, of about 20 young ladies; for which I have received 6s. a scholar by the quarter. The people with whom I live are free and generous, many of them gentlemen of sense and merit. They are desirous that I would continue and settle in the school; and propose a considerable increase of wages. I am much at a loss whether to accept their proposals. Your advice in the matter coming from an Uncle, and from a man who has spent his life in the business, would, I think, be the best I could possibly receive. A few lines on this subject, and also to acquaint me with the welfare of your family, if your leisure will permit, will be much to the satisfaction of

Your most dutiful Nephew,
NATHAN HALE.

P. S.—Please to present my duty to my Aunt, and my fondest regards to all my cousins. If no other oppor-

tunity of writing presents, please to improve that of the Post.

[Addressed: "To
Maj: Samuel Hale
at
Portsmouth"—]

[From the original MSS. in possession of Mr. Grenville Kane, Tuxedo, New York. Its previous owner was the late Mr. George H. Moore, librarian of the New York Historical Society and later of the Lenox Library. Now published complete. Stuart gives the body of the letter.]

No. 4

HALE TO DR. ÆNEAS MUNSON AT NEW HAVEN

NEW LONDON, November 30, 1774.

Sir,

I am happily situated here. I love my employment; find many friends among strangers; have time for scientific study, and seem to fill the place assigned me with satisfaction. I have a school of more than thirty boys to instruct, about half of them in Latin; and my salary is satisfactory. During the summer I had a morning class of young ladies—about a score—from five to seven o'clock; so you see my time is pretty fully occupied, profitably I hope to my pupils and to their teacher.

Please accept for yourself and Mrs. Munson the grateful thanks of one who will always remember the kindness he ever experienced whenever he visited your abode.

Your friend,

NATHAN HALE.

[From Lossing's "Two Spies," where the last sentence is given in facsimile. Mr. Lossing states that he copied it from the original in possession of Dr. Munson, son of the person to whom the letter is addressed.]

HALE TO THE PROPRIETORS OF UNION SCHOOL,
NEW LONDON

John Winthrop, Esq ^r	Capt. David Mumford
Capt. Guy Richards	Thomas Mumford, Esq ^r
Duncan Stewart, Esq ^r	Mr. Silas Church
Capt. Robin ^a Mumford	Capt. Michael Mellaly
Mr. Roger Gibson	Capt. Thomas Allen
Winthrop Saltonstall, Esq ^r	Capt. Charles Chadwick
Capt. Joseph Packwood	Mr. Samuel Belden
Capt. William Packwood	Jeremiah Miller, Esq.
Capt. Richard Deshon	Capt. Russell Hubbard
Mr. John Richards	Mr. Nath ^l Shaw, Jun ^r
Richard Law, Esq ^r	Capt. John Crocker
Mr. Timothy Green	Doct ^r Thomas Coit.

Gentlemen Proprietors of Union School are desired to meet at the School-House next Friday Evening (Feb. 24th) 6 O'clock, agreeable to adjournment from the 3^d Inst. to the rising of the Court. The matters proposed to be considered were, the Act of Incorporation—the choice of proper Officers as Committee, Clerk &c, procuring a Bell, and what else might be thought proper. The occasion of the Adjournment was the smallness of the Number present. That there might not be the same occasion for another, more early Notice was directed to be given, by,

Your Humble Servant

N HALE

Wednesday Feb. 22^d A.D. 1775

No Meeting on account of bad Weather.

[From the Original MSS. in possession of Mr. W. F. Havemeyer,
New York. Now first published.]

No. 6

HALE TO THE PROPRIETORS OF UNION SCHOOL,
NEW LONDON

Gentlemen:

Having received information that a place is allotted me in the army, and being inclined, as I hope, for good reasons, to accept it, I am constrained to ask as a favor that which scarce anything else would have induced me to, which is, to be excused from keeping your school any longer. For the purpose of conversing upon this, and of procuring another master, some of your number think it best there should be a general meeting of the proprietors. The time talked of for holding it is 6 o'clock this afternoon, at the school-house. The year for which I engaged will expire within a fortnight, so that my quitting a few days sooner, I hope, will subject you to no great inconvenience.

School keeping is a business of which I was always fond, but since my residence in this town, everything has conspired to render it more agreeable. I have thought much of never quitting it but with life, but at present there seems an opportunity for more extended public service.

The kindness expressed to me by the people of the place, but especially the proprietors of the school, will always be very gratefully remembered by, gentlemen, with respect, your humble servant,

NATHAN HALE.

Friday, July 7, 1775. To John Winthrop, Esq., Richard Law, Esq., &c. &c.

[From Stuart's "Life of Nathan Hale."]

HALE TO BETSEY CHRISTOPHERS
AT NEW LONDONCAMP WINTER HILL Oct^r 19th 1775*Dear Betsey*

I hope you will excuse my freedom in writing to you, as I cannot have the pleasure of seeing & conversing with you. What is now a letter would be a visit were I in New London but this being out of my power suffer me to make up the defect in the best manner I can. I write not to give you any news, or any pleasure in reading (though I would heartily do it if in my power) but from the desire I have of conversing with you in some form or other.

I once wanted to come here to see something extraordinary—my curiosity is satisfied. I have now no more desire for seeing things here, than for seeing what is in New London, no, nor half so much neither. Not that I am discontented—so far from it, that in the present situation of things I would not except a furlough wer[e] it offered me. I would only observe that we often flatter ourselves with great happiness could we see such and such things; but when we actually come to the sight of them our solid satisfaction is really no more than when we only had them in expectation.

All the news I have I wrote to John Hallam—if it be worth your hearing he will be able to tell you when he delivers this. It will therefore not [be] worth while for me to repeat.

I am a little at a loss how you carry at New London—Jared Starr I hear is gone—The number of Gentlemen is

Hale Letters

Collection of Rev. Libanus Everett Hale

... has had a
of in ... the form of ...
conclusions he ... I have not as yet heard
I have not heard from home since
came from there

Your loving Brother

Nathan Hale

Mr. O. Hale & yours

Don't know
if I don't know
know how you like
I don't know from your
may know opportunity to find you
all of would it not do if not you with
know it your find one all well at covering your
mother sends her regards to you from your kind and loving
Brother Rev. Hale

Carenton Dec 20th

AD 1769

... of this ...
... with forty dollars ...
... the last man that ...
... the ship who had fifty. Then
... on board the schooner ...
I must write to some of my other
brothers but you should not be at
home. remain - your ...
A. Enoch Hale - Brother N. Hale



now so few that I fear how you will go through the winter but I hope for the best.

I remain with esteem

Y^r: Sincere Friend

& Hble Svt.

N HALE

[Original in possession of the estate of the late John Mills Hale, Esq.,
Philipsburg, Pa. Now first published.]

No. 8

HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH AT COVENTRY

NEW YORK, May 30th, 1776.

Dear Brother.

Your favor of the 9th. of May, and another written at Norwich, I have received — the former yesterday. You complain of my neglecting you; I acknowledge it is not wholly without reason — at the same time I am conscious to have written you more than once or twice within this half year. Perhaps my letters have miscarried.

I am not on the end of Long Island, but in New York, encamped about one mile back of city. We have been on the Island, and spent about three weeks there, but since returned. As to Brigades: we spent part of the Winter at Winter Hill in Genl. Sullivan's — thence we were removed to Roxbury, and annexed to Genl Spencer's — from thence we came to New York in Genl Heath's; on our arrival we were put in Genl. Lord Sterling's; here we continued a few days, and were returned to Genl. Sullivan's; on his being sent to the Northward, we were reverted to Lord Sterling's, in whose Brigade we now remain. In the first detachment to the Northward

under Genl. Thomson, Webb's regiment was put down; but the question being asked whether we had many seamen, and the reply being yes, we were erased and another put down in our place.

We have an account of the arrival of Troops at Halifax, thence to proceed on their infamous errand to some part of America.

Maj. Brooks informed me last evening, that in conversation with some of the frequenters at Head Quarters he was told that Genl. Washington had received a packet from one of the sherrifs of the city of London, in which was contained the Debates at large of both houses of Parliament — and what is more, the whole proceedings of the Cabinet. The plan of the summer's campaign in America is said to be communicated in full. Nothing has yet transpired; but the prudence of our Genl. we trust will make advantage of the Intelligence. Genl. Gates (formerly Adj. Genl. now Majr. Genl) is gone to Philadelphia, probably to communicate the above.

Some late accounts from the northward are very unfavorable, and would be more so could they be depended on. It is reported, that a fleet has arrived in the River; upon the first notice of which our army thought it prudent to break up the siege and retire — that in retreating they were attack'd and routed, Numbers kill'd, the sick, most of the cannon and stores taken. The account is not authentic: We hope it is not true.

It would grieve every good man to consider what unnatural monsters we have as it were in our bowels. Numbers in this Colony, and likewise in the western part of Connecticut, would be glad to imbrue their hands in their Country's Blood. Facts render this too evident to admit of dispute. In this city such as refuse to sign the Associ-

ation have been required to deliver up their arms. Several who refused to comply have been sent to prison.

It is really a critical Period. America beholds what she never did before. Allow the whole force of our enemy to be but 30,000, and these floating on the Ocean, ready to attack the most unguarded place. Are they not a formidable Foe ? Surely they are.

[NATHAN HALE.]

[Original in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Given in Stuart.]

No. 9

HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH AT COVENTRY

NEW YORK June 3^d, 1776.

Dear Brother,

Your Favour of the 9th of May and another written at Norwich I have received — the first mentioned on the 19th of May ult.

You complain of my neglecting you — It is not, I acknowledge, wholly without reason — at the same time I am conscious to have written to you more than once or twice within this half year. Perhaps my letters have miscarried.

I am not on Long Island, as you suppose ; but in New York, encamped about 1 mile back of the City. We have been on the Island, and spent about three weeks there, but since returned.

As to Brigades : at the beginning of the Campaign we were at Winter Hill in Gen^l Sullyvan's ; from there we were removed to Roxbury & annexed to Gen^l Spencers ; we marched from that place here in Gen^l Heaths ; on our arrival we were put in Gen^l Lord Sterling's ; here we continued a few days and we returned to Gen^l Sullyvan's ; on

his being ordered to the northward we reverted to Lord Sterling, in whose Brigade we still remain.

In the first detachment to Canada under Gen^l Thomson, Webb's Regiment was put down, but the question being asked whether we had many Seamen & the answer being yes, we were erased and another put down in our place. —Our Continuance or removal from here depends wholly upon the operations of the War. It gives pleasure to every friend of his country to observe the health which prevails in our army. Dr. Eli (Surgeon of our Reg^t) told me a few days since, there was not a man in our Reg^t but might upon occasion go out with his Firelock. Much the same is said of other Regiments.

The Army is every day improving in discipline, and it is hoped will soon be able to meet the enemy at any kind of play.—My company which at first was small, is now increased to eighty, and there is a Sergeant recruiting, who, I hope, has got the other 10 which compleats the Company.

We are hardly able to judge as to the numbers the British army for the Summer is to consist of—undoubtedly sufficient to cause us too much bloodshed.

Genl. Washington is at the Congress, being sent for thither to advise on matters of consequence.

I had written you a compleat letter in answer to your last, but missed the opportunity of sending it.

This will probably find you in Coventry—if so remember me to all my friends—particularly belonging to the Family. Forget not frequently to visit and strongly to represent my duty to our good Grandmother Strong. Has she not repeatedly favored us with her tender, most important advice? The natural Tie is sufficient, but increased by so much goodness, our gratitude cannot be too sen-

sible. I always with respect remember Mr. Huntington, and shall write to him if time admits. Pay Mr. Wright a visit for me. Tell him Asher is well — he has for some time lived with me as a waiter. I am in hopes of obtaining him a Furlough soon, that he may have opportunity to go home, see his friends, and get his Summer clothes.

Asher this moment told me that our Brother Joseph Adams was here yesterday to see me, when I happened to be out of the way. He is in Col. Parson's Reg^t. I intend to see him to-day, and if possible by exchanging get him into my company.

Yours affectionately, N. HALE.

P. S. Sister Rose talked of making me some Linen cloth similar to Brown Holland for Summer ware. If she has made it, desire her to keep it for me. My love to her, the Doctor, and little Joseph.

[Original in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Now published complete. Stuart gives the body of the letter.]

No. 10

HALE TO HIS BROTHER ENOCH AT COVENTRY

NEW YORK, Aug. 20th. 1776.

Dear Brother.

I have only time for a hasty letter. Our situation has been such this fortnight or more as scarce to admit of writing. We have daily expected an action—by which means, if any one was going and we had letters written, orders were so strict for our tarrying in camp that we could rarely get leave to go and deliver them. For about 6 or 8 days the enemy have been expected hourly, whenever the wind and tide in the least favored. We keep a

particular look out for them this morning. The place and manner of attack time must determine. The event we leave to Heaven. Thanks to God! we have had time for completing our works and receiving our reinforcements. The Militia of Connecticut ordered this way are mostly arrived. Col. Ward's Regiment has got in. Troops from the southward are daily coming. We hope under God to give a good account of the enemy whenever they choose to make the last appeal.

Last Friday night, two of our fire vessels (a Sloop and Schooner) made an attempt upon the shipping up the river. The night was too dark, the wind too slack for the attempt. The Schooner which was intended for one of the Ships had got by before she discovered them; but as Providence would have it, she run athwart a bomb-catch, which she quickly burned. The Sloop by the light of the former discovered the Phoenix—but rather too late—however she made shift to grapple her, but the wind not proving sufficient to bring her close along side, or drive the flames immediately on board, the Phoenix after much difficulty got her clear by cutting her own rigging. Sergt. Fosdick, who commanded the above sloop, and four of his hands, were of my company, the remaining two were of this Regt. The Genl. has been pleased to reward their bravery with forty Dollars each, except the last man that quitted the fire-sloop who had fifty. Those on board the Schooner received the same. I must write to some of my other brothers lest you should not be at home. Remain

Your friend &

Mr. Enoch Hale.

Brother NA. HALE—

[Original in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale. Stuart gives this letter. Reprinted here with slight corrections.]

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The Officers Who Preserved Hale's Last Words

By
J. C. Foy

Captain Hull, American
by Stuart



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LETTERS OF HALE'S CORRESPONDENTS

RICHARD HALE TO HIS SONS ENOCH AND NATHAN
IN COLLEGE—THREE LETTERS

Dear Children,

I Rec^d your Letter of the 7th instant and am glad to hear that you are well suited with Living in College and would let you know that wee are all well threw the Divine goodness, as I hope these lines will find you. I hope you will carefully mind your studies that your time be not Lost and that you will mind all the orders of College with care and be sure above all forget not to Learne Christ while you are busy in other studies. I intend to send you some money the first opportunity perhaps by Mr. Sherman when he Returns home from of the surcircuit [circuit court] he is now on. If you can hire Horses at New Haven to come home without too much trouble and cost I don't know but it is best and should be glad to know how you can hire their and send me word. If I Don't here from you I shall depend upon sending Horses to you by the 6th of May,—if I should have know oppertunity to send you any money till May and should then

come to New Haven and clear all of would it not do?
 If not you will let me know it. Your friends are all well
 at Coventry—your mother sends her Regards to you—
 from your kind and Loving

Father RICH^d HALE.

Coventry Dec^r 26th

A.D 1769

I have nothing spettial to write but would by all
 means desire you to mind your Studies and carefully
 attend to the orders of Coledge. Attend not only Prays
 in the chapel but Secret Prayr carefully. Shun all vice
 especially card Playing. Read your Bibles a chapter
 night and morning. I cannot now send you much money
 but hope when S^r Strong comes to Coventry to be able
 to send by him what you want. . . .

from your Loving Fath—

RICH^d HALE

Coventry, Dec^r 17th 1770

Loving Children — by a line would let you know that I
 with my family threw the Divine Goodness are well as
 I hope these Lines will find you. I have heard that you
 are better of the measles. The Cloath for your Coat is
 not Done. But will be Done next week I hope at firthest.
 I know of no oppottunity we shall have to send it to
 Newhaven and have Laid in with Mr. Strong for his
 Horse which his son will Ride down to New Haven for
 one of you to Ride home if you can get Leave and have
 your close made at home. I sopose that one mesure will
 do for both of you. I am told that it is not good to study
 hard after the measles — hope you will youse Prudence in
 that afare. If you do not one of you come home I don't
 see but that you must do with out any New Close till

after Commensment. I send you Eight Pound in cash by
Mr. Strong — hope it will do for the present —

Your Loving Father

RICH^d HALE

Coventry August 13th 1771.

[From originals in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale.]

ENOCH HALE TO NATHAN AT NEW LONDON

LYME May 10th, A. D. 1774

Dear Brother:

A few words by the hand of friend Noyes. You see I am at Lyme: but I could not come by New London. I left home last Thursday. Mother and Sally in a poor way, I fear not so well as when you was there. I came by the way of Lebanon, left Billey with Mr. Huntington to learn the Blacksmiths trade. I b[r]ought no books for you, I had no conveniency but left word to have them sent to you, if opportunity presented, Pope's Iliad & the 5th Vol. of the late war, which I found among the books and placed in my chest.

I stand in need of a pair of breaches, I know of no better place to purchase cloath than at New London. If you will oblige me so much as to go with Noyes & get as good & fashionable as you can but not too costly: for it is for every day, therefore cheeper the better, & likewise trimmings. Squire Noyes would be glad to see the History of the late war, so if you will send some of the Volumes if you don't want them, you will oblige him & me.

Enoch Hale

[From original in possession of Rev. Edward Everett Hale.]

The original MSS. of the following letters to Elihu Marcin's, June 11, 1776, inclusive, are in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

WILLIAM ROBINSON TO HALE AT EAST HADDAM

WINDSOR (NOT EAST) July 20, 1773 [1774]

Sir:—

In my present unlucky situation I have just received yours of day after Thanksgiving; from which I am at a loss to determine whether you are yet in this land of the living, or removed to some far distant and to us unknown region; but this much I am certain of, that if you departed this life at *Mados*, you stood but a narrow chance for gaining a better.

At the top of the page I denominate my present situation *unlucky*; in one sense it is so, but upon many accounts I can't but say that I am well pleased with it. By confining myself to a school I am deprived of the pleasure of many agreeable rides among my friends about the country in which I had determined to spend the winter; with this further aggravation, that till now, you have not known where to direct for me, & perhaps have entertained the suspicion that I was careless about returning an answer to yours. On the other hand my school is not large, my neighbors are kind & clever (& *summatim*) My distance from an house on your side of the river, which contains an object worthy the esteem of everyone, & as I conclude has yours in an especial manner, is not great; why should I complain? for no other reason but that I cannot enjoy the company of yourself, with some other special friends. I have lately seen your brother at the other side of the

river, who informs me that he is very pleased with his school. . . .

Thus far, sir, I conclude by wishing you, in your business, the greatest success.

Your sincere friend
& huml. sert.

W. M. Robinson

TIMOTHY GREEN TO HALE AT EAST HADDAM¹

N. LONDON, Feb. 10, 1774

Sr:

Since my last to you, the Proprietors of the new School House in this Town have had a meeting, and agree that you should take the school for one quarter, at the rate of \$220. Dols. pr. ann. to be paid at the end of the qtr. of which I am desirous to acquaint you. Am not able to inform you when Mr. Tracy's quarter will expire, but this I will do when I'm acquainted by a Line from you whether we may depend on your taking the school, which you will please to write me pr. first oppo.—

It is the desire of the Proprietors that you would come down two or three days before Mr. Tracy's quarter expires that they may be certain of the school's being immediately supplied with a master—in which case it is agreed that your wages shall commence from the time of your arriving here.— I am, sir, &c.

TIMO. GREEN.

Mr. Tracy's time will be up about the middle of March.

¹ See p. 43 for further correspondence between Green and Hale.

GILBERT SALTONSTALL TO HALE AT CAMP

NEW LONDⁿ Oct.^o 9th 1775*Dear Sir*

By yours of the 5th I see your're Stationd in the Mouth of Danger—I look upon y^r. Situation more Perilous than any other in the Camp—Should have tho't the new Recruits would have been Posted at some of the Outworks, & those that have been inured to Service advanc'd to Defend the most exposed Places—But all Things are concerted, and ordered wth Wisdom no doubt—The Affair of D^r. Church is truly amazing—from the acquaintance I have of his publick Character I should as soon have suspected M^r. Hancock or Adams as him.

Last Saturday a ship of 200 tun run aground off Stonington loaded w^h. Wheat, its the Ship that some time ago purposely fell into the Hands of Wallace at Rhode Island w^h. a load of Flower, she is owned by Christ^o. Champlin of New port, when the Fishing Boats hail'd them they gave no reply, and soon after run on the Shoals as above, the Com. of Stonington went to unloading her immediately, & sent off per Cap^t. Niles who lay in this Harbour to come round to Stonington to protect her against any small Tender that shoud happen that way, he up Anchor and went round forthwith; the Ship is now in this Harbour (came in this Morn.) her Cargo is principally taken out in lighters and sent to Norwich, where She will follow as soon as the Wind permits, for she can't beat up having lost her Masts in the Gale the 10th Sept^r.

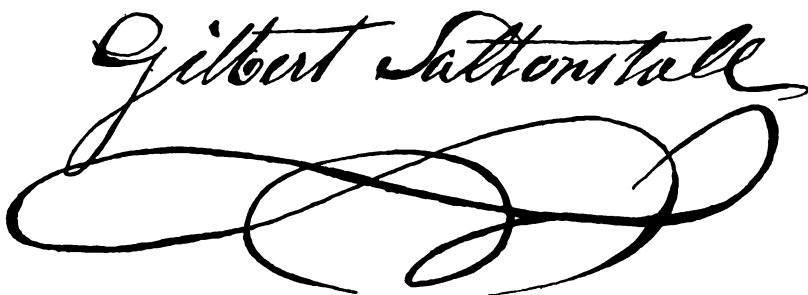
[Here follow extracts from a paper of Oct. 7, which "young Doc^t. Mumford" had just brought from New York. They refer to army matters on the Canada line.]



I have extracted all the material News—should have sent the Paper but its the only one in Town and every one is Gaping for News.

You'll excuse the writing, as I am in a great hurry I scratch away as fast as I can. . . .

Your Sincere Friend



Esteemed Friend

Your various letters duly Recived,—it was no unwillingness in me that prevented my answ^r them in course — The honest Reason though not a reputable one, I know will excuse Me to you, I'll therefore give it. I defer'd and defer'd to the last mom^t and then something turn'd up tantamount to a sore Finger and in fact prevented me.

. . . Doct^r. Church is in close Custody in Norwich Goal, the Windows boarded up, and he deny'd the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, to have no converse with any Person but in presence of the Goaler, and then to Converse in no Language but English. Good God what a fall—

You saw in the Paper the Address to the King from the Merch^{ts} &c of Manchester — Notwithstanding their pretending their Resources are many, and so large that the Americans' Nonimportation & exportation will be like the light dust of the Ballance, yet to every one who will turn it in his Thoughts, it's utterly impossible but that y^e

prodigious Consumption of British Wares & Merchandize from Georgia to Nova Scotia, encluding Canady, the Reduction of w^h I consider as already compleated, must affect them sensibly, and they must recognize the consequence of America.—

I wish New York was either ras'd to the Foundation, or strongly garison'd by the American Forces. . . . When the Army is new modled send me a List of the Arrangem^{ts} Are any of the Connecticut Companys to be disbanded ? the Majors &c — what are to become of them ?

My Compliments to S. Webb, and Hull and other Friends — Hempsted will wait no longer — Good b'y'e write me a^l — the News you can muster

y^r &c

Nov^r: 27th 1775.

GILBERT SALTONSTALL

Dear Sir . . .

NEW LONDON Dec^r: 4th 1775.

The behaviour of our Connectic^t: Troops makes me Heart sick — that they who have stood foremost in the praises and good Wishes of their Countrymen, as having distinguished themselves for their Zeal & Publick Spirit, should now shamefully desert the Cause; and at a critical moment too, is really unaccountable — amazing. Those that do return will meet with real Contempt, with deserv'd Reproach — It gives great satisfaction that the Officers universally agree to tarry — that is the Report. is it true or not? — May that God who has signally appear'd for us since the commencement of our troubles, interpose, that no fatal, or bad Consequence may attend a dastardly Desertion of his Cause.¹

¹There are several references in these letters to the conduct of some of the Connecticut soldiers in November and December, 1775. It ap-

I want much to have a more minute Acc^t of the situation of the Camp than I have been able to obtain. I rely wholly on you for information.— . . .

Your

G. SALTONSTALL

NEW LONDON Dec^r, 18th 1775.

D^r. Sir. . . .

I wholly agree with you in y^e agreables of a Camp Life, and should have try'd it in some Capacity or other before now, could my Father carry on his Businefs without me. I propos'd going with Dudley, who is appointed to Comm^d a Twenty Gun Ship in the Continental Navy, but my Father is not willing, and I can't persuade myself to leave him in the eve of Life against his consent. . . .

Yesterday week the Town was in the greatest confusion imagineable; Women wringing their Hands along Street, Children crying, Carts loaded 'till nothing more would stick on, posting out of Town, empty ones driving in, one Person running this way, another that, some dull, some vex'd, none pleas'd, some flinging up an Intrenchment, some at the Fort preparing y^e Guns for Action, Drums beating, Fifes playing; in short as great a Hubbub as at the confusion of Tongues; all this occasioned by the appearance of a Ship and two Sloops off the Harbour, suppos'd to be part of Wallace's Fleet.— When they were found to be Friends, Vessels from New Port with Passengers, y^e consternation abated, and all fell to work at the pears that they complained of poor food, unkept promises, and a detention in camp beyond their term of enlistment. They went home on their own account, and were ridiculed, hooted at and branded as deserters. Most of them, however, returned, and the Connecticut regiments were as large as any in the new army.

Intrenchment, which runs from N. Douglass's to S. Bills Shop.—they have been at Work ever since Yesterday Week when the Weather would permit, they work'd Yesterday at Winthrop's Neck and are at it there today.—In some respects we are similar to a Camp, for Sunday is no Day of rest now.— You would hear the small Chaps (who mimick Men in everything they can.) cry out "Cut down the Tories Trees"—there is not one of Cap: ——— Willows remaining in his lot back of his House — they are appropriated to a better use than he would ever have put them to — The Breastwork is much the better for them.

I might inform you of many little bickerings that occur daily, but as those who raise them are of no importance, and the Evils (if any.) are only local, it is not worth while to repeat them: Besides, you know y^e. Genius of the Town is a restless, discontented Spirit.

When I have observ'd the Malice and Envy which rages to a Flame in so many Breasts, the Slander, the illiberal & ungenerous Reflections which serve as Fuel to those Hellish Vices, I lament the Depravity of the Human Heart, and fall little short of a Misanthropist: But when I come across a Person of Candour, Reason, Justice and Sincerity with their attendant Virtues (I'd almost said a Person of either of those Endowments.) I feel a generous glow within me despise the base light in w^h I view'd Human Nature, & become reconcil'd to my Species. . . .

The Soldiers can give no other Reason for not Enlisting, than the old woman's, They wou'd not, cause the wou'd not.

My Compliments to Cap: Hull — am very sorry to hear of his Illness, hope this will find him recruited.

I am with Sincerity
Your Friend

GILBERT SALTONSTALL,



1. **Introduction** (10-15 Minutes)

2. **Body**



January 2th 1744

This Honourable Society met at Meads Room & the Meeting was opened with a Narration, spoken by Alder; then the Members proceeded to elect Gould, Chancellor and Cutler after a few Questions they appointed Williams^{1st} to deliver an Oration - at the next Anniversary they likewise appointed Dr. Dwight, Sr. Lavenport, Sr. Williams Cutler, Gould, Barker, Hall, Alder, Gurley, Mays, Lyman, Marwin & Williams, whom they designed should take their Parts, in acting a Comedy call'd the Conscious Lovers and they appointed the following to act a Tragic call'd the Toy Shop, (viz) Cutler, Barker, Billingslet, Hall, H. Sch, Williams, Hall, Hale, Leonard, Mead & Woodbridge.
Left Nathan Hale Scribe

January 9th 1744

This venerable Club met at Alders Room. The Meeting was open'd with a Narration spoken by Welch; and after some Questions was clos'd with a Dialogue, spoken by Lyman & Robertson.
Left Nathan Hale Scribe.



ROGER ALDEN TO HALE IN CAMP

Dear Sir: — N. HAVEN. Novbr. 28th. 1775.

If you had only once thought how much pleasure it would have given me to receive a letter from you in your present character and situation, I am sure you could not have neglected writing to me by Captain Leavenworth.

If the life and business of a soldier has worn off all that friendship and tenderness for me which you have so often expressed by words and actions I shall try to reconcile myself to the misfortune and promise myself no more happiness and satisfaction from him whom I once esteemed among the number of my best friends —

The cares perplexities and fatigues of your office are matters sufficient to vindicate your conduct and the duty which you owe to your own honor and the interest of your country is sufficient to employ your whole time and to justify you in dispensing with the obligations of your old friends and acquaintances —

I almost envy you your circumstances, I want to be in the army very much; I feel myself fit to relish the noise of guns drums trumpets blunderbuss and thunder and was I qualified for a birth and of influence sufficient to procure one I would accept it with all my heart. I would accept of a lieutenancy but should prefer an adjutancy, but other more fortunate young persons are provided for and I poor I, must make myself contented where I am. Think of my condition and then imagine how highly I appreciate yours. Give my love and compliments to Keyes and Woodbridge, tell them I shall be very careful to answer all their letters as well as your own. After you have thought over all this tell yourself that no one loves you more than R. A.

Roger Alden

THOMAS U. FOSDICK TO HALE AT CAMP

Dear Sir,

NEW LONDON, Dec: 7, 1775.

Ever since the uneasiness, which I have heard, persisting amongst the Connecticut Troops, I've form'd a Resolution to go down to the assistance of my countrymen, to facilitate which I have resigned my office as Serjeant in Col. Saltonstall's com'y— I make no doubt, Sir, but you can assist me to some such office, as I should choose to be in that station, under you in particular; if not, I am determin'd to come down — a hearty Boy, undaunted by Danger. Ensign Hurlbut will write you concerning the above.

Your very hum^{ble} Serv^t:THO^s UPDIKE FOSDICK

JOHN HALLAM TO HALE

SUNDAY EVENING

NEW LONDON Dec: 10th 1775*Dear Sir*

I rec^d yours by the Post, which tho' short, believe me was very acceptable; your being on Picquet is a sufficient excuse that you wrote no more—I must make an excuse for the shortness of mine of a similar kind; we have at length concluded to intrench along our Street, from Cap^t. N. Douglafs's to Cap^t. W^m Packwood, which we began Friday afternoon, on Saterdag we work'd, & likewise all *this Day* occasion'd by an alarm; & tomorrow & next Day we expect our Country Friends in to help us; we've had upwards of 200 Volunteers to work. The Alarm / I mention'd / was thus. Early this morning we rec^d an Exprefs from Stonington, that a Ship & Tender was coming into their Harbours & several more was seen in the Offing, a

few Hours after she made her appearance rond Eastern Point; Judge you of the confusion, I never saw greater nor did I ever see Men worke with such spirit & prepare to fight with more resolution.

I think it imposibile that the same numbers of Men in the same time could do more work tho' most of us unus'd to the spade & Pick ax as witness my hands all of a Blister; the particulars of our proceedings I ned not mention, but you may depend on't we did every thing we could; but (to our great joy) by means of a spy Glafs, as the ship drew nearer we discover'd her to be a Merchantman. . . .

I had like to forgot to tell you that about 100 Men have been at work this week past on the Ledge of rocks about half way from the waters edge to the top of Groton Hill down by Chester which Place they mean to fortify well, the Co! is likewise with his Men building a good Battery on Winthrops Neck, at the same time our intrenchments go on Briskly; thus you see We have at Length wak'd from our Lethargy—we have so many demands for men that your Comp^y fills slow Your En^{ts} has in all about 16 Your Lieut but few what George tells me he has wrote you is perhaps the reason of your Lieu^t Poor successe—the Col! Comp^y is not quite full. Shaw & Mumford by permit of the Congress have near a dozen vefsels fitting out for Powder, Dudley Saltonstall beating up for volunteers as he is appointed Cap^t of a thirty Gun Frigate by the Congress, Cap^t N. Saltonstall is his first Liu^t there is a number of recruiting officers among us besides yours so that Your successe is as good as you can expect—every Day brings acc^{ts} of some Damage done our vefsels by the Gale [of] the 9th . . .

am Sⁿ Yⁿ

J. H

ENSIGN GEORGE HURLBUT TO HALE AT CAMP

Kinde Sir — NEW LONDON Decem^r 11th 1775

After Returning You My Sincere Thanks I would Inform You I Reciev,d Your Oblidging Letter Which was Dated of the 7th Instant wherein You Informf me the soldiars was going Home A funday — I should be very Glad fir, if You would Inform me how The Minds of our soldiars is — when I Came away They ware very Backward About staying. When I was at Roxbury, they ware all in Confusion, they had About 30 Under Guard that was bound home, I was Almost Discou^r they ware all our Conneticut men — you May Depend upon it, fir, they will all Return Again, their friends will Receive them Very Cool. . . . I will acquaint You A Little how they Go on hear — when I was at Breckfast Yeasterday the news Come that their Was 4 ships Turning Round fishers Island and The Old women began to Preach and Cry, we shall all Die, — By the Great Gun Bullets, I Have not took so much Pleasure since I Have Been hear, as I did Yeasterday, I Long^d for You to be hear — they all hands worke a funday — They have Begun to Intrench all A Long street

But Least I should weary Your Patience I will Conclude with my Compliments to Capt Hull and the Maj^r if he is their — From Your sincere Friende HURLBUT¹

ELIHU MARVIN TO HALE

S^r NORWICH 15th Dec^r 1775

Three months at Cambridge and not one line. well I can't help it, if a Capⁿ Commission has all this effect, what will happen when it is turned into a Colonel's . . .

¹ There are two other letters from Hurlbut to Hale in the Society's Collection — brief, with minor details.

Polly hears of one and another at New London who have letters from M: Hale but none comes to me Polly says——

Mrs. Poole was at Norwich sometime since and desired me to enclose a letter for her which I engaged to do, but I was unfortunately taken sick the night before the man sat out, and through that indolence which you know is so natural to me I had neglected to write sooner so was disappointed of fulfilling my engagement . . .

The fortifications are going on briskly at New London and Groton—I hear at Stonington they are preparing to make the most vigorous defence.

James Hilhouse writes me they are preparing to give them a suitable reception at New Haven. The assembly is now sitting—nothing of their doings have as yet transpired but it is said the Governor call'd them together to see what shall be done with some Tories who are said to be troublesome in the Western part of the Colony—you know they are plenty there.—

We hear that a number of the settlers on the Sufquehannah purchase are taken prisoners by the Pennymites—That assembly have taken up the matter and seem determined to proceed to blood-sh[ed], A sad Omen to the happy union that has as yet subsisted between the Colonies, Could our internal enemies wish for a more favorable event on their side.—

I make no doubt of its being a plan of the Tory party in the Pennsylvania assembly. What will be the event I know not but hope the allwise disposer of affairs will not suffer it to proceed to a rupture between the Two Colonies—

I am now Trespassing on my school hours so must conclude your's

ELIHU MARVIN

P. S. Miss Polly's compli^{ts} to Mr. Hale—A letter would not be disagreeable.

ROBERT LATIMER TO NATHAN HALE AT CAMP

Dr Sir,

As I think myself under the greatest obligations to you for your care and kindness to me, I should think myself very ungratefull, if I neglected any oppertunity of expressing my gratitude to you for the same. And I rely on that goodness I have so often experienced to overlook the deficiencies in my Letter, which I am sensible will be many, as maturity of judgment is wanting; and tho' I have been so happy as to be favour'd with your instructions, you can't Sir, expect a finish'd letter from one, who has as yet practis'd but very little this way, especially with persons of your nice discernment.

Sir I have had the pleasure of hearing by the soldiers, which is come home, that you are in health, tho' likely to be deserted by all the men you carried down with you, which I am very sorry for, as I think no man of any spirit would desert a cause in which we are all so deeply interested. I am sure was my Mammy willing I think I should prefer being with you to all the pleasures which the company of my Relations can afford me.

I am with respect y^r Sincere
friend & very H'ble St—

Dec^{br} 20th, 1775

ROB^t LATIMER.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT TO HALE AT CAMP

Dear Sir,

The many civilities I have already received at your hands, embolden me to trouble you with the inclos'd. The design you will learn from a perusal of it. As such a publication ["The Conquest of Canaan"] must be founded on an extensive subscription, I find myself necessitated to ask the assistance of my friends. To a person of Mr. Hale's character (motive of friendship apart) fond-

ness for the liberal arts would be a sufficient apology for this application. As I was ever unwilling to be under even necessary obligations, it would have been highly agreeable, could I have transacted the whole business myself. Since that is impossible I esteem myself happy in reflecting that the person who may confer this obligation is a Gentleman, of whose politeness and benevolence, I have already experienced so frequent, and so undoubted assurances. If you will be so kind, my Dear Sir, as to present the inclos'd to those Gentlemen & Ladies, of the circle with which you are connected, whom you may think likely to honour the poem with their encouragement, and return it with their Names, by a convenient opportunity, it will add one to the many instances of esteem with which you have obliged your very sincere Friend,

and most Humble Servant

Timothy Dwight Jun

Mr. Nathan Hale

Feb. 20, 1776.

Comp's to Capt. Hull, Mr. E. Hunt'g [Lieut. Ebenezer Huntington] & the rest of my acquaintance in Camp.

I would beg the favor of you to forward a letter which will be delivered to you by Capt. Perit for Doct Brackett of Portsmouth, as you have connections there — You may probably do it without inconvenience.

ELIHU MARVIN TO HALE AT CAMP

Kind Sr,

Norwich 11th June 1776,

Am much obliged for your particular history of the adventure aboard the prize; wish you would acquaint me

with every incident of good or ill fortune which befalls you in your Course of life. The whole journal I hope some time or other to peruse. You are sensible that I am not in a way to meet with adventures new or interesting. Teaching, scolding and flogging is the continual round. I am surprised when I reflect on my situation; once I could enter my school and spend my hours with pleasure, but them scenes are now past. In short I have come to be one of your fretting, teasing pedagogues and think hard of quitting. For these some months I have been like a person half distracted. I know not what to do with myself. I think of this, that and the other calling and know not which to prefer; then my bleeding country awakes my attention and seems to demand me in the field.

My hearty prayer to God for my country is that he would preserve peace and harmony among ourselves. I greatly fear some of America's greatest and most dangerous enemies are such as think themselves her best friends. In what other light can we consider such men as profess themselves firm friends to her cause and yet are spiring up their neighbours to fall on the Merchant and compel him to sell his own goods at their own price. Had we virtue to deny ourselves our foolish passions, and assist each other to the end, I think we need not fear the Boasted power of Britain with all her train of Confederate mercenaries.

E. MARVIN

N. B. Nevins is on the hill every night. Polly says she writes by him. The Ladies are all in good spirits.

EZRA SELDEN TO HALE AT NEW LONDON

Sir

ROXBURY CAMP, June 25th 1775

I have just remembrance of my engagement to you as well as to Numbers of others which I cannot fulfill. We

came into Roxbury on Sunday about Five o Clock they have been firing upon Roxbury a great Part of Saturday. [The writer gives various camp incidents, such as, speaking of the Bunker Hill fight:] The number of those Slain in the Battle between Putnam and the Gagites is uncertain—By Letters from Gentlemen in Boston Gage has his Army Sixteen hundred worse than before the Engagement. . . .

The Soldiers live in houses as many as can & more also But are not so healthy as those in Tents of Which number we are

EZRA SELDEN

[Original letter in possession of the Boston Public Library. Printed in full in the Library Monthly Bulletin, November, 1900.]

LIEUTENANT JOHN BELCHER TO HALE

STONINGTON, July 27th, 1775.

Sir,

These may inform you that since I saw you, Ensign Hillard and myself have enlisted Twenty two Men, and as my cash is pretty much exhausted, should be glad of a Supply as soon as possible, and should be glad you would inform me by a Line what progress you have made in the Enlisting Way, and when I must stop my hand, and should be glad if our Company is not near compleated, you would send me over some more Blanks, as I expect next Monday, to make my Number, 30, at least, and I understand we are to march next week, and the greatest part of the Men I have enlisted are destitute of Guns, suitable to carry, which we ought to make timely provision for. These from your humb^le serv^t—

JOHN BELCHER—

Addressed: "To

Lieut. Nathaniel Hale | New London."

[Original letter in possession of Mr. W. F. Havemeyer, New York.]



HALE'S ARMY DIARY, 1775-76

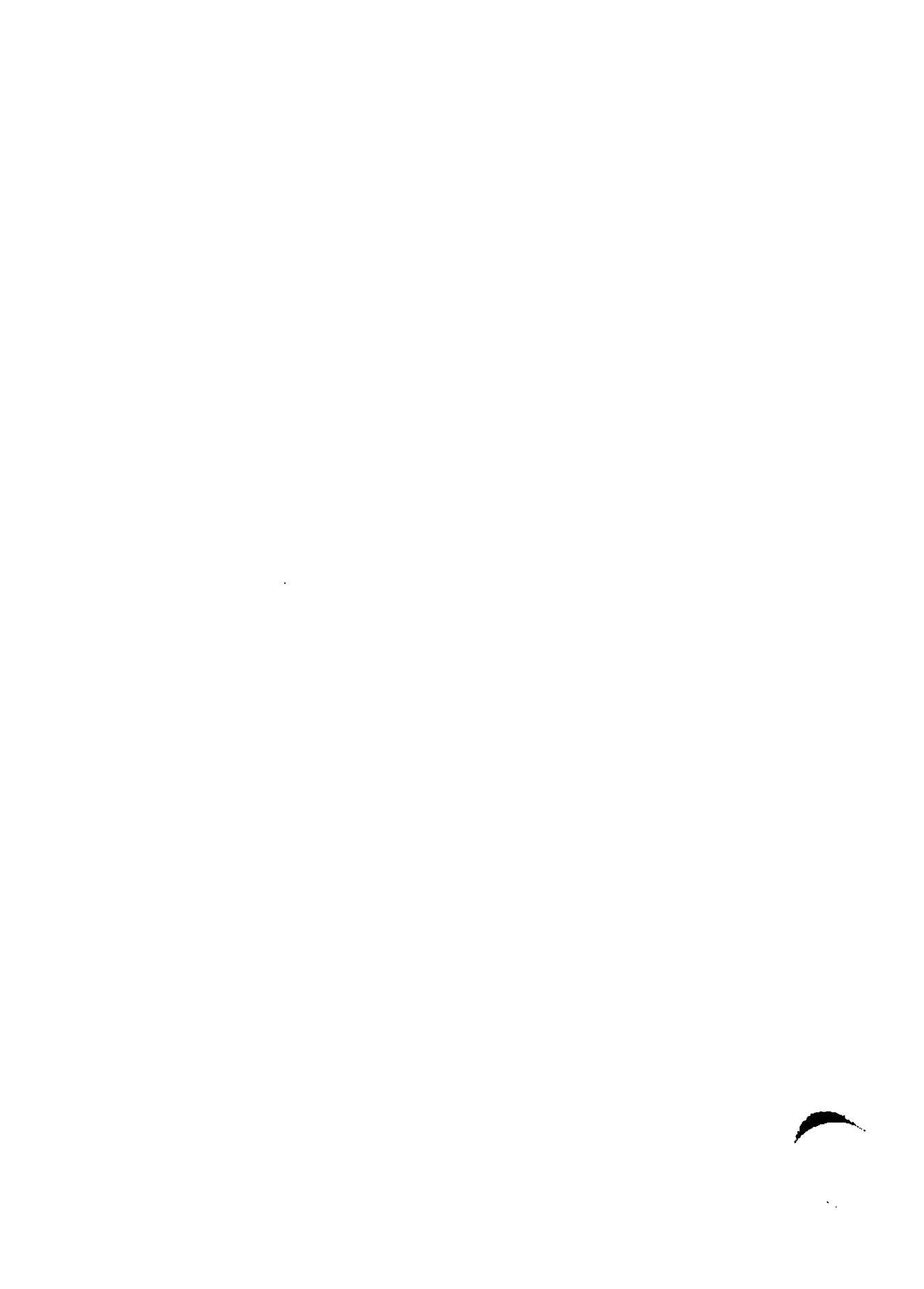
[The original diary is in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford. Stuart includes it in his work, but it is reprinted here as corrected from the MSS. A leaf or two may be missing at the beginning, as the first entry shows that he had been on the march two or three days; Waterman's, where he stopped September 23, 1775, being near the Rhode Island line.]

[Sept. 23^d, 1775]

Cannon, 40 or 50, heard from the last stage to the present. march'd 3 ½ O'C^l arr^d Waterman's (a private house & entertainment good) after a stop or two 6 ½ O'C^l 6 / m [6 miles] — tarryed alnigh[t]

24th Mch^d 6 O'C^l & at 8 O [C^l] reach'd Olney's 4 m. 10 O'C^l mch^d from Olney's 2 miles & reach'd Providence but made no stop. Having march'd thro the town with music, & mde a sht stp at the hither part, in the road, came 4 miles further to / Slack's in Rehobo[th] where we dined. 4 O'C^l mch^d from Slacks 6 m and reach'd Daggetts in Attleborough & put up, depositting our arms in the mtt^e House — Soon after our arrival join'd by the Maj^r who set out from home the nt bef—

25th March'd soon after sunrise — & came very fast to Dupee in Wrentham 9 m to Breakfal[t]. arrd 9 O'C^l; 11



THE GUN, THE WHIP, AND HORN

—

BY HENRY SEAMAN







—

—

set off & 1½ P M arv^d Hidden Walpole & there din'd and tarried till 4½ O'C^l then march'd to Dedham — 7 m and put up.

Tuesday 26th mch'd 5 m before Breakfast to —

For Dinner went 4½ m to Parkers — which is within a mile & a half from Camp.

At our arrival in Camp found that 200 men had been draughted out that morning for a fishing party. Pitched our tents for the present in Roxb^y a little before sunset —

Wednesday 27th Went to some of our lower works — 12 or 15 of y^e fishing party return & bring 11 Cattle & 2 horses —

Thursday 28 Fishing party return'd

Friday 29th mch^d for Cambridge. arv'd 3 O'C^l & encamped on the foot of Winter hill near General Sullyvans 3 com^{ies} [companies] Maj^s C^t [Captains] Shipmans, Bostw[ick]

Sat. 30th Considerable firing upon Roxbury side in the forenoon & some P. M. No dam^{ge} done as we hear. Join'd this day by Cp^s Perril [Perrit] & Levnwth [Leavenworth] about 4 O'C^l —

Octo. 6th 1775 Near 100 Can^s fired at Roxbury from the Enemy. Shot off a man's arm & kill'd one cow —

7th Some firing from Boston/neck. nil/mat.

8^{Sab}. A. M. rainy no meet^s. M^r Bird. pr. [preached] Watertown. P. M. went to meet^s on the hill M^r Smith p^r
9 Mon.

Morn^s Clear & Pleas^t but cold. exerf^d men 5 O'C^l 1 h. —

Tuesday 10th

Went to Roxbury, dined with Doc^t Wolcott at General Spencer's Lodg^{es} P. M. rode down to Dorchester, with

GENERAL

The first of the three... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...

It is... I have been thinking... I have been thinking...



Sat. 14th

Mounted picket guard. Gov^r: Grifwold at plough^d hill
rumours of 25,000 troops from England.

Sab. 15th

M^r: Bird pr. P. M. after meeting walk'd to Miftick.

Tuesday 17th

A Serg^t: Major deserted to the Regulars.

Wed. 18th

A Private deserted to the enemy last night.—a cannon
split in our float^s battery when fir^s upon B. [Boston]
Common 1 of our men kill'd another said to be mortally
wounded. 6 or 7 more wounded — Rec^d: Letters

G. Saltonfall 16th

J. Hallam 14th

E. Hallam 15th

E. Adams 16th

In M^r: Saltⁿ: Letter rec^d: News of the publifhment of
Thomas Poole & Betsey Adams, on th 15th

Thursday 19th

Wrote 4 letters To Mefs^{rs}: G. Saltⁿ: & John Hallam &
to Mifses Betsey Adams & Hallam—3 people inhabi-
tants of Boston s^d: to have escaped on Rox^y: side last night.
Several guns were fired at them which were heard here at
Winter hill. This morning one of our horses wand^d: down
near the enemy's lines, but they durst not venture out to
take him on account of Rifle[men] placed at y^e: old
Chim^y: ready to fire upon them. A sick man at Temples
found to have the small pox—

Friday 20th

Wet & rainy. News from Roxbury y^e: 9 persons, 5 of
them inhabitants, & 4 of them Sailors made their escape
last night from Boston to Dorchester Point, Who bring

accounts y^t 10,000 Hanoverians & 5,000 Scotch & Irish Troops are hourly expected in Boston. P[er] Cp^t Perrit ret^d sunset from Connecticut News y^t Col. Jos.^h Trumbull Comm^r Gen^l was at the p^t of Death.

Sat. 21st

Constant rain & for y^e most part hard for y^e whole day. A letter communicated to the off^r of y^e Reg^t fr^m G. Washgtⁿ to Col. Webb with orders to see what Off^r & men will extend y^e term of th^r service fr^m 6th Decem^r to 1st Jan^r— Col. Webb issu'd ord^r for removing a man who was yesterday discover'd to have y^e small pox from Temples h[ouse] to y^e hospital, but the Of^r remonstrat^d suspended his orders.—Sun set clear.—

Sab. 22^d

Mounted piquet Guard. had charge of the advance Pequet. Nil mem. Mistick Comm^r refus'd to del^r prov^s to Comp^{ies} which had had nothing for y^e day. on which Cpt. Tuttle & 60 or 70 men went, & as it hapnd terror instead of force obtain'd the provisions. On Pequet heard Reg^r at work with pick axes. One of our Centries heard their G. Rounds give the Counterfign which was Hamilton. Left P. guard and ret^d to Cp. at sunrise on the

23^d Mon —

10 O'C! went to Cambridge wth Fld Com^{rs} officers to Gen^l Putnam, to let him know the state of the Reg^t & y^t it was thro ill usage upon the Score of Provisions y^t th^r wld not extend th^r term of service to the 1st of Jan^r 1776.—

Din'd at Browns dr^k 1 bottle wine walk'd about street, call'd at Joh. Woodbridges on my way & ret^d home abt. 6. O'C!— rec^d confirmation of day before yesterdays report y^t Cpt. Coit mde an Admiral — Rec^d Let. Ed Hallam 15th

24th Tuesday

Some rain. W^t to Miftick with Clothes, to be washed (viz 4 Shirts D^o Necks 5 pair Stockings. 1 Napkin 1 Table Cloth 1 Pillow Case 2 Linen & 1 Silk Handkerchiefs) P. M. Got Brick & Clay for Chimney. Winter Hill came down to wrestle w^h view to find our best for a wrestling match to which this hill was stumped by Prospect — to be decided on Thursday insu^e — Evening prayers omitted for Wrestling

25 Wednesday — no letters

26 Thursday

grand Wrestle on Prospect Hill no wager laid

Friday 27th

Mefs^r John Hallam & David Mumford. arr^d

Sat 28th

Somewhat rainy.

Sab. 29

Went to meeting in the barn — one exercise. After meeting walk'd with Cpt. Hull & M^r Hallam to Miftic.

Sat 28th At night Serg^t of the enemy's guard deserted to us.

Monday 30th

Some dispute with the Subalterns, about Cpt Hull & me acting as Captains. The Col. [&] Lieut Col. full in it that we ought to act in that Capacity. Brigade Maj^r & Gen^l Lee of the same opinion. Presented a petetion to Gen^l Washington, for Cpt. Hull & myself requesting the pay of Cpts. — refus'd. Mr. Gurley here at Din^r P. M. Went into Cambridg with M^r Mumford.

Tuesday 31

Wrote letter to Father & Brothers John & Enoch. P. M Went to Cambridge. dr. wine &c at Gen^l Putmans.

Wednesday Novem. 1st

Mounted Pequet guard, nil mem —

Rec'd 3 Letters fr^m S. Belden G. Salt. & Betsey Hallam. The 1st inf^m he had no Scarlet Coating &c also reminded me of 20^s/ due to him by way of change of a 40^s/ Bill recd for Schooling (forgot) 2^d inf^m that (as pr Philadelphia paper) Payton Randolph died of an Apoplexy 22^d ult. 3^d inf^d Sheriff Christopher [of New London] is dead.

Wed, 1st

Came off from Pequet Guard 10 O'C! 11 d^o w^t to Cm^{rs} with Cpt. Hull. dined at Gen^l Putnams w^h. M^r Learned. Inf^d M^r Howe died at Hartford 2 months ago, not heard of before.

Col. Parsons Reg^t under arms to suppress y^e mutinous proceedings of Gen Spencers Reg^t one man hurt in y^e neck by a bayonet. (done yesterday). ret^d to Camp 6 O'C! —

Thursday 2^d

Rain constantly some times hard. Receiv'd a flying Report that the Congress had declared independency.

Friday 3^d Nil mem —

Sat. 4th

M^r Learned with myself din'd at Col. Halls'. Deacⁿ Kingsbury's son visited me. P. M. Cpt. Hull & I w^t to Prospect Hill.

Sunday 5th

A. M. M^r Learned pr. John 13. 19. excellentissime. A little after twelve a considerable number of cannon from the Enemy in memory of the day. Din'd w^t Cpt. Hull at Gen^l Putnam's. Recd news of the taking of Fort Chamble with 80 odd Soldiers, about 100 women & children, upwards of 100 barrels of Powder, more than 200 barrels of pork, 40 D^o of flower 2 Mortars & some cannon. The

Women, wives to Officers in S^t Johns, who were brought
 S^t Johns & there their Husbands permitted to come
 and after spending some time w^h them return. Also
 of vessel taken by one of our privateers fr. Phi^a to
 n w^h 10½ pipes of wine, another from the West
 Indies with the produce of that Country. Recd a letter
 from bro. Enoch Nov. 1st Coventry. per Dan^l Robertson,
 who is to make me a visit to morrow. The paper in
 which the Officers sent in their names for new commiffions
 return'd for more Subalterns. Enf^{ts} Pond & — put
 down th^r names. Those who put down their nam[es] the
 first offer, Col^l Webb & Hall, Cpts Hoyt, Tuttle, Ship-
 man, Bostwick, Perrit Levenworth Hull & Hale. Subs.
 Catland, [Catlin]

Monday 6th

Mounted Pequet guard in y^e place of Cpt Levenworth.
 A Rifleman deserted to y^e Regulars. Some wet. Day
 chiefly spent in Jabber & Chequers. Cast an eye upon
 Young's Mem^o belong^g to Col. Varnum — a very good
 book. Comp^t of y^e bad condition of y^e lower Pequet by
 Maj^r Cutter, &c.

It is of the utmost importance y^t an Officer should be
 anxious to know his duty, but of greater that he shd care-
 fully perform what he does know : The present irregular
 State of the army is owing to a capital neglect in both of
 these.—

Tuesday 7th

Left Pequet 10 OC! — Inf^d Maj^r Brooks app^l for this
 Reg^t new Establishment wh occasd much uneasiness among
 y^e Cpts. Rain pretty hard most of the day. Spent most
 of it in y^e Maj^r my own & other tents in conversation —
 (some chequers) Studied y^e best [?] method of forming

a Reg^t for a review, manner of arranging y^e Companies, also of mchg round y^e review^s Officer.

A man ought never to lose a moments time. If he put off a thing f^r one minute to the next his reluctance is but increas'd.—

Wednesday 8th

Clean'd my gun—pld some football, & some chequers. Some People came out of Boston via Rox^{by} Recd N. of Cpt. Coits taking two prizes with Cattle poultry hay, rum, wine &c &c. also verbal accounts of the taking of S^t Johns.

Thursday 9th

1 O'C^l P. M. An alarm. The Regulars landed at Leechmere's point to take off Cattle, our works were immediately all mann'd & a detachment sent to receive them, who were obliged, it being high water, to wade through water near wast high. While the Enemy were landing, we gave them a constant Cannonade from Prospect Hill. Our party having got on to the point, marched in two Columns, one on each side of y^e hill with a view to surround y^e enemy but upon the first appearance of them, they m^d their boats as fast as Pofsible. While our men were marching on to y^e poin^t they were exposed to a hot fire from a ship in the bay & a floating Battery, also after they had pased the Hill. A few Shot were fired from Bunker's Hill. The damage on our side is the los^s one Rifleman taken & 3 men wounded one badly, & it is thought 10 or more cattle carried off. The Rifle man taken was drunk in a tent in which he & the one who recd the worft wound were placed to take care of y^e Cattle Horses &c. & give notice in case y^e enemy should make an attem^{pt} upon them. Y^e tent they were in was taken.

What the loss was on the side of the enemy we cannot yet determine.—At night met with the Cpts of y^e new establishment at Gen^l—Sullyvans to nominate Subalterns. Lieut^t Bourbank of Col^l Doolittles Reg^t mde my 1st L^t Serg^t Chapman 2^d & Serg^t Hurlbut En^{ts}.

Friday 10th

Went upon the hill to my new Lieu^t Bourbank & found him to be no great things. On my return, found that my Br. & Joseph Strong had been here & enquired for me. immediately after dinner went to Cambr. to see them but was too late. Went to head quarters, saw Gen^l Sullivan, & gave him a description of my new L^t wh said h wd mk inquiry concer'ng him. On my return fd [found] the abv L^t at my tent agr^{ble} to my invitation. After much round abt talk purfuaded him to go with me to y^e Gen^l to desire to [be] excused from the service. Y^e Gen^l not being at hom[e] deferr'd it 'till anot^h time.

Saturday 11th

Some disputes about the arrangement of Subs—but not peaceable settled

Sunday 12th

This morning early a meeting of Cpts—upon y^e above matter, & not ended untill near noon. No meeting A. M. P. M. M^t Bird pr.

Monday 13th

Our people began to dig turf under Coble Hill. Inlistments delivered out. At night a man of our Reg^t attempted to desert to the Reg^{ts} but was taken.

Tuesday 14th

Some uneasiness about Subs. P. M. went to Cambr. nil-mem. Gen^l Orders of to day contain'd an account of

the reduction of St. Johns. Dig^s Sods under Coble Hill Continued.

[“ Directions for the Guards ” copied in here by Hale.]

Wednesday 15th

Mounted Main Guard. Heard read the articles of Surrend of S^t: Johns. Likewise an accou^{nt} of the repulse of our piratical enimies at Hampton in Virginia, with the losf of a number of men (in a handbill). Three deserters made their escape from Boston to Roxb^r last night. Two prifoners were taken this afternoon in the orchard below Plough'd Hill who with some others were getting apples. They bring accounts that it was reported in Boston that our army at S^t: Johns was intirely cut off. That last week when they attempted to take our Cattle at Sewels pint they kill'd 50 or 60 of our men wounded as many more & had not a man either kill'd or wounded whereas in truth we had only one that was much wounded & he is in a way to recover. Recd a letter from J. Hallam :

Thursday 16th

Relieved from Pequet 8½ O'C. confined James Brown of Cpt. Hubbel's Company for leaving the guard which he did yesterday towards night & did not return untill 4 O'C! this morning when he was taken up by the Centinal at the door of Temple's House — as it appeared he was somewhat disguised with liquor ordered him confined & reported.

Thursday 16th

Wrote two letters 1 To J. Hall^m & 1 to G. Salt^l. It being Thanksgiving in Connecticu^t The Cp^m & officers in nomination for the new army had an entertainment at T^r: House, provided Cpt. Whitney's Suttler. They were somewhat merry & inlifted some Soldiers. I was not present —

About 10 or 11 O'C! at night orders came for reinforcing the Pequet with 10 men from a Com?

Friday 17th

Recd an order from Colonel Hall for taking up at the continental Store 4 pr Breeches 6 D^o Stock^o 5 D^o Shoes, 1 Shirt 1 buff Cap 1 pr Indiaⁿ Stock^o 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ y^{ds} of Coat^o—all which I got but the Yd Shirt Indian Stock^o 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Coat^o & Shoes which are to come tomorrow morn^g Cpt. Hull wth some of his Sol^{rs} went wth me to Camb^o—Return'd after dark. Stop'd at Gen^l Lee's to see about Furl^o for men enlisted who ordered y^e gen^l orders for the day to be read by which Furloughs are to be given by Col^{ls} only & not more than 50 at a time must have them out of a Reg^t. Gen^l orders further contain'd that the Congress had seen fit to raise the pay of the officers from what they were & y^e a Cpt upon the new establishment is to receive 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ Dollars per month a 1st & 2^d Lieut. 18 Dollars & an Enl^o 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ Dollars.

Saturday 18th

Obtained an order from Colo. Webb upon the Q.M.G. for things for the Soldiers. Went for them after noon returned a little after Sunset.

Sabbath Day 19th

M^r Bird pr. one Service only beginning after 12 O'C! Text Either 8th 6 For how can I indure to see the evil that shall come unto my people? or how can I indure to see the destruction of my kindred? The discourse very good, the same as preach'd to Gen^l Wooster, his Officers & Soldiers at New Haven & which was again preach'd at Cambridge a Sabbath or two ago.—Now preach'd as a farewell discourse. Robert Latimer the Maj^r Son went to Roxbury to day on his way home. The Majr who

went there to day & L^t Hurlbut & Robert Latimer F. [fifer] who went yesterday return'd this even^g b^t ac^o that the Asia Man of War Station'd at N. York was taken by a Schooner arm'd with Spear's &c. which at first appeared to be going out of the Harbour & was br^t too by y^e Asia & instead of com^g under her stern just as she came up Shot along side, the men which were before conceal'd immediately sprung up with their lances &c and went at it with such vigour that they soon made themselves masters of the ship. The kill'd & wounded not known. This account not credited. Serg^t Prentis thought to be dying about 12 Meridian, some better if any alterat^o this evening.

Monday 20th

Obtain'd Furlough's for 5 men (viz) Isaac Hammon Jabez Minard Christopher Beebe John Holmes & William Hatch, each for 20 Days. Mounted mⁿ Guard, 4 Prisoners. nil mem. on till 10 O'C^l when an alarm fr Camb^r & Prospect Hill occasioned our turning out. Slept little or none.

Tuesday. 21st

Reliev'd by Cpt Hoyt. Sergⁿt Prentis very low. Colo. and some Cpts went to Cambr to a Court M. to Cpt. Hubbel's Trial adjourn'd from Yesterday to day. even^g spent in conversation.

Wednesday 22^d

Sergt. Prentis died about 12 O'C^l last night. Tryed to obtain a furlough to go to Cape Ann and keep Thanksgiving, but could not succeed. Being at Gen^l Sullyvans, heard Gen^l Green read a letter from a member of the Congress, exprefsing wonder at the backwardness of the Of^s & Soldiers to tarry the winter—likewise informing that the men inlisted fast in Pensylvania & y^e Jersies for

30/. per month. Some hints dropt as if there was to be a change of the [Leaf missing.]

Saturday 25

Last night 2 Sheep kill[’d] belong^s to the En^{ry}—this morning considerable firing between the Centries. A Rifleman got a Dog from the Regulars. Col. Varnum offer’d a Guinea for him, the [price] that Gen^l Lee had offered. 10 O.’C^l A. M. went to Cobble Hill to view. Another brought to the Ferry way (two there now). P. M. went to Camb^l Ret^d Sunset. This evening recd Acc^{ts} that Col. Jedediah Huntington’s wife had hanged herself at Dedham. She had been delirious for the greater part of the time since he entered the Service, & was come to Dedham to see him. He met her there, found her as rational as ever, but within an hour after he left her, the melancholy tidings followed of her having hanged herself. Heard further that 200 or 300 poor people had been set on Shore last night by the Regulars, the place not known, but sd to be not more than 6 or 8 mile from hence. Cannon were heard this forenoon seeming to be off in the bay and at some distance.—Observ’d in coming from Cambr. a number of Gabines at Gen^l Lee’s, said to be for the purpose of fortifying upon Leechmores point.

26th Sunday.

William Hatch of Major Latimer’s Co. died last night, having been confin’d about one week, he has the whole time been in [?] and great part of it out of his Senses. His distemper was not really known. He was buried this afternoon, few people attended his funeral. Reported that the people were set a shhore at Chelsea, & bring acc^{ts} that the Troops in Boston had orders to make an attack upon plough’d hill, when we first began our works there, but

the Officers a number of them, went to Gen^l Howe & offered to give up their Commissions absolutely refusing to come out & be butchered by the Americans. Mounted Main Guard this morning. Snowy. L^t Chapman rec^d Recruiting ord^s & set out home purposing to go as far as Roxb^l today.

27 Monday.

Nil mem. Evening went to Gen^l Lee's whom I found very much cast down, at the discouraging prospect of supplying the army with troops.

28 Tuesday.

Promis^d the men if they would tarry another month they should have my wages for that time. Gen^l Sullivan Return^d. Sent order to Frazer Q. M. to send us some wood. Went to Cambr. could not be serv^d at the store, return^d, observ^d a greater number of Gabines at Gen^l Lee's. Inf.^d at Cambr y^t Gen^l Putnam's Reg^t mostly concluded to tarry another month. (This is a lie)

29 Wednesday.

The Reg^t drawn up before Gen^l Sullivan's, after he had made them a most excellent speech desired them to Signify their minds, whether they would tarry 'till the 1st of January, very few fell out, but some gave in their names afterward. Rec^d News of the taking of a vefsell loaded wth ordinance and Stores

30. Thursday.

Obtain^d a furlough for Enfin Hurlbut for 20 Days. Sent no letters to day on account of the hurry of business

1st [December] Friday

W- to Cambridge. A number of men, about 20 in the whole confin^d for attempting to go home. Our Reg^t this

morning, by means of General Lee univerfally consented to tarry untill the Malitia came in, and by far the greater part agreed to stay 'till the first of Jan.

2^d Saturday.

Orders read to the Reg^t that no one Officer or Soldier should go beyond Drum call from his al[ar]m post. Went to Mistick with Gen^l Sullyvan's order on M^r Fraser, for things wanted by the Soldiers who are to tarry 'till the 1st of January, but found he had none.

3^d Sunday.

Wet weather, no pr.—Eve got an order from BG. Sullyvan upon Colo. Mifflin for the above mention'd Articles, not to be had at Frasers —

4. Monday.

Went to Cambridge to draw the above articles, but the order was not excepted. recd News y^t several prizes had been taken by our Privateers, among which was a vefsell from Scotland balas'd with Coal, the rest of her Cargo dry goods. Cpt. Bulkley & M^r. Chamberlain from Colchester with cheese. Purchased 107 lb at 6^o pr lb for which I gave an order upon Maj^r Latimer.

5 Tuesday

Recd News of the Death of John Bowers Gunner in Cpt Adam's Privateer formerly of Maj^r Latimer's Company.

6th Wednesday —

Upon main Guard. Nil mem. Recd some letters per Post. Col. Doolittle Officer of the Day inf^d that C^{ol}. Arnold had arr^d at point Levi near Quebec —

7. Thursday.

Went to Cambridge to draw things

8 Friday.

Did some writing. Went P. M., to draw money for our expenses on the road from N. L. to Roxbury, but was disappointed:

9 Nil. Mem. Saturday

10th

Struck our tents and the men chiefly marched off. Some few remaining came into my room. At Night Charle Brown Daniel Tolbot & W^m Carver return'd from Privateering. assisted Maj^r Latimer in making out his pay Roll. somewhat unwell in the evening.

11. Monday

Finish the pay roll & settled some accounts — about 12 O'C' Maj^r Latimer set out home. 1 or more Companies came in today for our relief

12 Tuesday

a little unwell yesterd and today some better this evening.

13 Wednesday

On Main Guard. Rec'd & wrote some letters. Read the History of Philip.

14 Thursday.

Went to Cambridge visited Maj^r Brooks, found him unwell with an ague. Cpt Hull Taken violently ill Yesterday remains very bad today, has a high fever.

15. Friday. Nil. mem.

16. Sat.

Our people began the Covered way to Lechmore's point.

17. Sunday.

Went to Mistic to meeting. Some firing on our people at Leechmore's point

18. Monday.

Went to Cambridge to draw things. The Reg^t paraded this morning to be formed into two companies that the rest of the Officers might go home. Heard in Cambridge that Cpt. Manly had taken another prize, with the Gov^r of one of the Carolina's friendly to us. & the Hon. Matthews Esq^r Mem^r of the Continental Congress whom Gov^r Dunmore had taken & sent for Boston.

19 Tuesday.

Went to Cobble Hill. A Shell & a Shot from Bunker's Hill, the Shell braking in the air one piece fell as [and] touched a man's hat but did no harm. Works upon Leechmores point continued.

20 Wed.

Went to Roxbury for money left for me by Maj^r Latimer with Gen^l Spencer, who refused to let me have it without Security. Draw'd some things from the Store. L^t Catlin & En^l Whittlefey set out home on foot.

21 Thursday.

Wrote a number of letters. Went to Cambridge to carry them where I found M^r Hems[t]ed had taken up my money at Gen^l Spencers and Given his receipt. I took it of Hempstead giving my receipt—the sum was 36^s. 12^s. 0^d. Court Martial held at Gen^l Putnam's at which Commisary Gen^l Trumbull was tryed for defrauding the Soldiers of their provifions.—

22 Friday. Some Shot from the Enemy.

23 Saturday.

Tryed to draw 1 month's advance pay for my Company but found I could not have it till monday next — Upon

which borrowed 76 Dollars of Cpt Levenworth, giving him an order on Col^o. Webb for the same as soon as my advance pay for January should be drawn. 3¼ O'C^l P. M. Set out from Cambridge on my way home — At Watertown took the wrong road and went two miles directly out of the way, which had to travel right back again. — And after travelling about 11 miles put up at Hammon's Newtown about 7 O'C^l Entertainment pretty good.

24 Sunday

Left H: 6½ O'C^l went 8 miles to Straytons passing by Jackson's at 3 miles. Breakfasted at Strayton's. The snow which began before we fet out this morning increafes & becomes burthenfome. From Straytons 9 miles to Stones where we eat Biscuit and drank cyder. 7 miles to Jones — din'd — arv'd 3¼ O'C^l — From there 2 m & forgot some things & went back — then return'd to D^e Reeds that night. pas'd Amadons & Keiths 3 m — Good houses. Within ½ m of D^e Reeds mis'd my road & went 2 m directly out of my way & right back travell'd in the whole to day 41 miles — The weather Stormy & the snow for the most part ancle deep

25 Monday

From D^e Reeds 8 O'C^l Came 1 or 2 m and got horses — 4m to Hills & breakfasted — ordinary — 8 m to Jacobs & din'd — dismifs'd our horses — 6 O'C^l arv'd Keyes 11 m put up. Good entertainment.

26th Tuesday.

6. O'C^l A. M. fr K. 6m to Kindals. Breakfasted — 10 m to Southwards din'd. Settled acc^{ts} wth L: Sage d^o [?] h^m 16 dollars for paying Soldiers 1 month's advance pay. Arv'd home a little after sunset — One heel string lame.

27th Wed.

Heel lame. W^t to Br. Roses Aunt Robⁿ Mr. Hun^{ton}
& Cpt Rob^t

28 Thursday

Unwell — tarried at home.

29 Friday.

Went to see G. C. Lyman, Call'd a Dⁿ Kingbury's &
M^r Strong's.

Jan^y 1775 [1776]

24 Wednesday — fet out from my Fathers for the Camp
on horse back at 7½ O'C^l at 11 O'C^l arv^d a Pirkin's by
Ashford Meeting House where left the horses. 12½ OC^l
mch^d 3½ arv^d Grosvenor's 8 m & 4½ at Grosvenors
Pomfret 2 m and put up — here met 9 Soldⁿ f^t. Windham

25 Thursday

6½ OC^l mch^d from G and came to Forbs 7^m but another
Co. hav^s engaged breakfast there we were obliged to pass
on to Jacobs. (fr Gros^t 10^m) — After Breakfast went 8 m
to Hills & dr^k some bad Cyder in a worfe tavern. 7 —
O'C^l arv^d Deacon Reeds. 5 m Uxbridge & ½ Com^r put
up — myself wth the remainder pafsed on to Woods 2m.

26 Friday.

7 O'C^l fr. Woods 4 m to Amadons Mendon break-
fasted. 17 m. to Clarkes Medfield & put up — Co — put
up 5 m back.

27 Saturday

Breakfasted at Clarkes 10 O'C^l mch^d about 11½ O'C^l
arv^d at Ellis' 5½ where drank a glafs of brandy & pro-
ceeded on 5½ to Whitings arv^d. 2 O'Cl Arv^d. at Parkers
in Jamaica Plains but being refused entertainment was
obliged to betake ourfelves to the Punch boll, where leav-

ing the men 11 in N^o went to Roxb^y Saw Gen^l Spencer — who tho't it best to leave the men there as the Regi- ment were expected there on Monday or Tuesday. In- dians at Gen^l Spencers. Ret^d to Winter hill.

28th Sunday —

Went to Roxby to find barracks for 11 men that came with me, but not finding good ones ret^d to Temple House where the men were arv^d before me—In the evening went to pay a last visit to General Sullyvan with Col^l Webb & the Cpts of the Reg^t

29 Monday — Nil mem.

30 Tuesday

Removed from Winter Hill to Roxb^y

Feby 4th 1776 Sunday —

Feb. 14th 1776

Wednesday

Last night a party of Regulars made an attempt upon Dorchester, landing with a very considerable body of men taking 6 of our guard, disperfing the rest & burning — two or three houses—The Guard house was set on fire but extinguished.

July 1776

23^d Report in town of the arv^l of 12 [to?] twenty S. of the Line in S^t Law^{ce} River. Doct^r Wolcott & Guy Rich^d Jun^r here fr^m N. L. Rec'd E fr G Saltonstall

Aug. 21st

Wednesday

Heavy Storm at Night Much & heavy Thunder—Capt. Van-Wyke a Lieut & Enf. of Col^l M^cDougall's Reg^t kill[ed] by a Shock— Likewise one man in town belonging



Army Return Reporting Hale's Death

General, Library of Congress, Washington

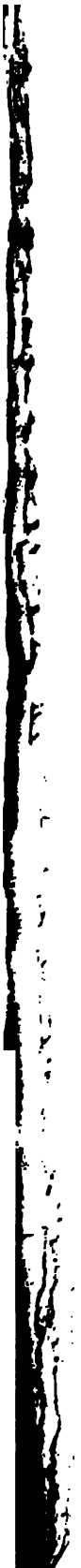
Company at Phillips's - Number No. 23rd

Return of those killed & Missing of 4th 19th Regiment

Names	Rank	when killed	when missing
Nathan Hale	Capt	22 nd September	
Monafa Garrett	Serjeant	28 th October	
	Privates		Missing
Seth Sturdivant			Sept 15 th
Davidson Williams		16 th Sept	
David M. Sull			Sept 15 th
John Scarfi			15 th Do
John James			15 th Do
James Hay			15 th Do
W. Sumner			15 th Do
Stephen W. Jones		16 th September	
Nathaniel Smith		28 th Oct	
Daniel Downs		28 th Do	
Elisha Nichols		28 th Do	
Joel Taylor		28 th Do	

Charles Webb Col.





to a Militia Reg^t of Connecticut. The Storm continued for two or three hours, for the greatest part of which time was a perpetual Lightening and the sharpest I ever knew.

22 Thursday—

The Enemy landed some troops down at the narrows on Long Island.

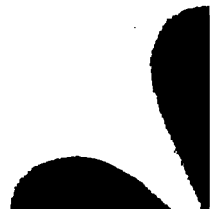
23. Friday—

Enemy landed more Troops—news that they had marched up and taken Station near Flatbush—their adv^{ce} Gds being on this side near the woods—that some of our Riflemen attacked & drove them back

Aug. 23

Friday

from their post burnt 2 stacks hay and it was thought killed some of them—this about 12 O'Cl at Night. News that Our troops attacked them at their station near Flat-b. routed and drove them back $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.





TRIBUTES TO HALE

HIS CAPTURE AND DEATH

BY UNKNOWN POET OF 1776

THE breezes went steadily thro' the tall pines,
A-saying "oh, hu-sh!" a-saying "oh, hu-sh!"
As stilly stole by a bold legion of horse,
For Hale in the bush; for Hale in the bush.

"Keep still!" said the thrush as she nestled her young,
In a nest by the road; in a nest by the road;
"For the tyrants are near, and with them appear,
What bodes us no good; what bodes us no good."

The brave captain heard it, and thought of his home,
In a cot by the brook; in a cot by the brook.
With mother and sister and memories dear,
He so gaily forsook; he so gaily forsook.

Cooling shades of the night were coming apace,
The tattoo had beat; the tattoo had beat.
The noble one sprang from his dark hiding place,
To make his retreat; to make his retreat.

He warily trod on the dry rustling leaves,
As he pass'd thro' the wood; as he pass'd thro' the wood;
And silently gain'd his rude launch on the shore,
As she play'd with the flood; as she play'd with the flood.

The guard of the camp, on that dark, dreary night,
 Had a murderous will; had a murderous will.
 They took him and bore him afar from the shore,
 To a hut on the hill; to a hut on the hill.

The brave fellow told them, no thing he restrain'd,
 The cruel gen'ral; the cruel gen'ral;
 His errand from camp, of the ends to be gained,
 And said that was all; and said that was all.

They took him and bound him and bore him away,
 Down the hill's grassy side; down the hill's grassy side.
 'Twas there the base hirelings, in royal array,
 His cause did deride; his cause did deride.

Five minutes were given, short moments, no more,
 For him to repent; for him to repent;
 He pray'd for his mother, he ask'd not another;
 To Heaven he went; to Heaven he went.

The faith of a martyr, the tragedy shew'd,
 As he trod the last stage; as he trod the last stage.
 And Britons will shudder at gallant Hale's blood,
 As his words do presage; as his words do presage.

"Thou pale king of terrors, thou life's gloomy foe,
 Go frighten the slave; go frighten the slave;
 Tell tyrants, to you, their allegiance they owe.
 No fears for the brave; no fears for the brave."

[From Mr. Frank Moore's "Songs and Ballads of the Revolution." It is credited to the year 1776, but when or where it first appeared is not stated.]

HALE'S FATE AND FAME

BY JUDGE FRANCIS M. FINCH

To drum-beat and heart-beat
 A soldier marches by;
 There is color in his cheek,
 There is courage in his eye,
 Yet to drum-beat and heart-beat
 In a moment he must die.

NATHAN HALE

By starlight and moonlight
He seeks the Briton's camp,
He hears the rustling flag,
And the armed sentry's tramp.
And the starlight and moonlight
His silent wanderings lamp.

With slow tread and still tread
He scans the tented line,
And he counts the battery guns
By the gaunt and shadowy pine;
And his slow tread and still tread
Give no warning sign.

The dark wave, the plumed wave!
It meets his eager glance;
And it sparkles 'neath the stars
Like the glimmer of a lance:
A dark wave, a plumed wave,
On an emerald expanse.

A sharp clang, a steel clang!
And terror in the sound;
For the sentry, falcon-eyed,
In the camp a spy hath found;
With a sharp clang, a steel clang,
The patriot is bound.

With calm brow, steady brow,
He listens to his doom;
In his look there is no fear
Nor a shadow-trace of gloom;
But with calm brow and steady brow
He robes him for the tomb.

In the long night, the still night,
He kneels upon the sod;
And the brutal guards withhold
E'en the solemn Word of God!
In the long night, the still night,
He walks where Christ hath trod.

'Neath the blue morn, the sunny morn,
 He dies upon the tree;
 And he mourns that he can lose
 But one life for Liberty;
 And in the blue morn, the sunny morn,
 His spirit-wings are free.

From Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf,
 From monument and urn,
 The sad of Earth, the glad of Heaven,
 His tragic fate shall learn;
 And on Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf,
 The name of HALE shall burn!

[Poem delivered in 1853 by Judge Finch, of Ithaca, N. Y., at the centennial anniversary of the Linonian Society, Yale College, to which Hale belonged.]

THE LAST MOMENTS OF NATHAN HALE

BY JOHN WITT RANDALL, M.D.

DEAR Country! Nought in death I dread,
 Save that but once I fall,
 And slumber idly with the dead
 When thou hast need of all:
 Thy living sons shall all defend,
 While I with senseless earth must blend.

Thy cause requires a million hands
 To battle with thy foes,
 Lives numerous as the ocean sands —
 I have but one to lose!
 Yet, though the sacrifice be small,
 Disdain not, since I give thee all.

O that my blood from out the ground,
 'Neath God's inspiring breath,
 Might at thy trumpets' piercing sound
 One instant leap from death,
 Each drop a man, each man a spy,
 Foredoomed in thy great Cause to die!

NATHAN HALE

How blest, even so to serve thee still,
 Slain o'er, and o'er and o'er!
 From field to field, from hill to hill,
 I'd chase thy cannon's roar,
 And shed my blood like showers of rain,
 And fall, and rise, and fall again.

But hark! I hear the muffled drum
 Roll like a smothered wave,
 And there the columns marching come
 That bear me to my grave.
 Farewell, dear native land! This heart
 Feels but one pang as now we part.

I only grieve because my eyes
 Thy glory may not see —
 That I can serve thee but with sighs,
 Nor more lift sword for thee;
 And mourn because life's fleeting breath
 Permits me but a single death.

[From "Consolations of Solitude." Boston: J. P. Jewett and Co., 1856. The w
 was the great-grandson of Samuel Adams.]

HALE'S GRAVE AT NEW YORK

BY JOHN MACMULLEN, A.M.

We know not where they buried him,
 Belike beneath the tree;
 But patriot memories cluster there,
 Where'er the spot may be.
 Yes! youthful martyr! all our isle
 To us more sacred's made,
 Since on her breast thy manly form
 In death's deep sleep was laid.

[From poem delivered before the Alumni of Columbia College, October 27, 1858.]

HALE AS A SPY

“Perhaps there are some who think Hale was really dishonored because he was hung as a spy. To any such we would say, that the measure of infamy shifts incessantly from age to age. No unit of conventional dishonor is fixed or lasting. The very insignia of infamy in one age, become the honored regalia of another. The cross reserved for ignominious malefactors in old Judea, is now the chosen emblem of all that is exalted and soul-inspiring throughout Christendom. Not a few of the noblest escutcheons ought to bear as decorations the gallows, the guillotine, the garotte, or some of the innumerable instruments of tortured and dishonored death. The externals of attaining manifestation will ever have less and less value, except as they may aid to interpret the endurance of suffering souls. It may, perhaps, be a true rule that no imputed ignominy will survive as such which is not still ignominy when tested by the most exalted Christian standards.

“So far as human conventionalities could achieve an unsanctified purpose, Nathan Hale died an ignominious death, and was consigned to infamy. But his name is not a word of infamy, and all the power of British arms cannot make it so. His high, actuating motives rise in solemn majesty before us, and make the gallows—the rogue’s march, the mean persecution of insults, and all the machinery of disgrace—significant only of surrounding baseness, and of his own internal strength. His death *proved* what his life had only indicated. It showed in him a true heroic greatness, which could, in calm dignity, endure to die wronged and unasserted. The common pathway to glory is trodden with comparative ease; but to go down to the grave high-spirited but insulted, technically infamous, unfriended in the last great agony, with an all-absorbing patriotism, baffled and anxious, and burning for assurance of his country’s final triumph—thus to have done and borne in unflinching dignity, was the ultimate criterion and evidence of a genuine nobility of nature. Had this sharp ordeal been spared, the man’s strong, true spirit might have remained ever unrecognized.”

[From review of Stuart’s work in *Putnam’s Magazine*, vol. vii, p. 476. May, 1856.]

TOAST OF REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS

“IX.—Captain NATHAN HALE;—the blood of such martyrs is the sure seed of future patriots and heroes.—2 guns.”

[Given at a dinner of old pensioners at Hartford, August 7, 1820.]



HALE MEMORIALS

MONUMENT AT SOUTH COVENTRY, CONNECTICUT.

The first monument to Hale's memory was erected at his birthplace, Coventry, in 1846. It is a shaft of Quincy granite forty-five feet in height. The cost was met by the townspeople, assisted by a grant of twelve hundred dollars from the State. Efforts made a few years earlier to interest Congress in the matter had failed. Stuart gives the minor details connected with the erection of the monument.

STATUE IN THE HARTFORD CAPITOL.

In 1887 the State of Connecticut erected a bronze statue of Hale in the Capitol building at Hartford. Among those who actively furthered the project were the late Governor Hubbard, ex-Governors Waller and Lounsbury, Hon. Robert Coit, Hon. Henry Barnard, Hon. E. S. Cleveland and others. The ceremonies of dedication — June 14 — included a prayer by Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Twichell, an address of presentation by the late Charles Dudley Warner, and acceptance for the State by Governor Lounsbury. The statue was designed by Mr. Karl Gerhardt, sculptor, of Hartford.

THE ATHENÆUM STATUE, HARTFORD.

A bronze statue of Hale stands on the grounds of the Wadsworth Athenæum, Hartford, which Mr. James J. Goodwin presented to that institution in 1894. No public ceremonies were held. The sculptor was Mr. Enoch S. Woods, of Hartford.

THE MACMONNIES STATUE, NEW YORK CITY.

The Society of the "Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York" was the first organization to honor the name of Hale in the City of New York with a substantial memorial. It presented the bronze statue in the City Hall Park to the city on November 25, 1893—the anniversary of Evacuation Day—with impressive ceremonies. A procession of United States troops and marines with their bands, local military and historic organizations, delegations from other societies and the members of the "Sons of the Revolution" marched from Wall Street up Broadway to the Park, where a large and interested throng of spectators had gathered. The presiding officer at the ceremonies was Frederick S. Tallmadge, Esq., grandson of Colonel Tallmadge, Hale's friend, frequently mentioned in the text. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, Chaplain-General of the Society. Mr. William Gaston Hamilton made the presentation address, transferring the statue from the Monument Committee to the hands of the society. The statue was unveiled by young Miss Cornelia Montgomery and a salute of thirteen guns followed. President Tallmadge accepted the memorial in behalf of the "Sons of the Revolution" and in their name presented it, through Mayor Gilroy, to the City of New York. The mayor accepted the gift for the municipality as "one of its choicest possessions and most venerated treasures." Major-General O. O. Howard, U. S. A., made an address, and Rev. Edward Everett Hale, grandnephew of the patriot, followed as a representative of the family. The memorial is the work of the sculptor Mr. Frederick MacMonnies. The Monument Committee, through whose efforts the beautiful statue was secured, consisted of President Tallmadge, *ex officio*, and Messrs. William G. Hamilton (chairman), Francis Lathrop, George C. Genet, John C. Jay, M.D., Henry W. LeRoy, Robert L. Belknap, and James Mortimer Montgomery, secretary of the society. The statue stands on the parade-ground of 1776, where Hale was frequently present at reviews. See p. 79.

MEMORIAL AT HUNTINGTON, LONG ISLAND.

Residents of Huntington, in 1894, erected a memorial of Hale in the form of a granite column with a fountain at the base. It commemorates Hale's landing there and his capture, as then supposed, at the same place. The unveiling exercises were held July 4. Rev. H. Q. Judd offered the prayer; the late Mr. Robert Lenox Belknap, chairman of the local



"Nathan Hale Association," delivered the historical address; Supervisor George M. Tileston accepted the memorial for the town; and General Stewart L. Woodford closed with an oration. A small view of the column is inserted on the map showing Hale's route. Mr. George Taylor, of "Halesite," Huntington, has placed commemorative Hale tablets on a boulder on the shore of the bay.

MEMORIAL AT NORWALK, CONNECTICUT.

At Norwalk, where Hale changed his uniform for a schoolmaster's disguise and then crossed to Huntington, the local chapter of the Connecticut "Daughters of the American Revolution" has erected a pleasing memorial within the current year, 1901. A small view of it is inserted on the map showing Hale's route. It is an ornamental fountain for general use and stands opposite the City Armory, where the unveiling exercises were held April 19. Within the building addresses were made by General Russell Frost, presiding officer; Rev. Edward Everett Hale; Rev. C. M. Selleck, of Norwalk; and Rev. Dr. S. P. Cadman, of Brooklyn. Opposite the fountain the presentation address was made by Mrs. Samuel Richards Weed, Regent of the Norwalk Chapter of the "Daughters of the American Revolution," and Mayor Glover accepted the gift for the town and city. Mrs. Weed's active efforts to secure the memorial were liberally seconded, among others, by the pupils of the Norwalk public schools.

HALE'S SCHOOL-HOUSES—EAST HADDAM AND NEW LONDON.

These school-houses have recently been restored and dedicated as Hale memorials. Their history has been similar. Removed from their original sites many years ago, they were changed and used as dwellings, and now stand on entirely new sites, the original ground in each case being unavailable.

The house at East Haddam came into possession, in 1890, of the Society of the "Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York," by which it was transferred to the "Sons of the Revolution" of Connecticut. This was effected through the generosity of its owner, the late Judge Attwood, of East Haddam, and the offices of Mr. Richard H. Greene, of the former society. The dedication took place June 6. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Warren, of the New York Society; Morris P. Ferris, Esq., its secretary, presented the gift; and ex-Governor Morgan G.

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Hale's Schoolhouses as Restored

New London

East Haddam





Bulkeley accepted it as president of the Connecticut Society. An historical address by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of New York, and addresses by Governor George E. Lounsbury, of Connecticut, and Mr. R. H. Greene, followed. The school-house stands conspicuously on the river bank, and its grounds, the gift of Governor Bulkeley, will form an attractive park. On the same day a bronze bust of Hale, by the sculptor Mr. Woods, was unveiled on the site where the building originally stood near the ferry.

The larger Union school-house at New London, from whose desk Hale went to the war, was recently purchased and restored by the Connecticut "Sons of the American Revolution," and by them transferred to the charge of the local chapter of the "Daughters of the American Revolution." The ceremonies took place on "Bunker Hill Day," June 17, 1901. The society marched through the city to the new site, escorted by detachments of regulars and marines, the Moodus Drum Corps, the Putnam Phalanx, public-school boys, and various bodies and delegations. Prayer was offered by the chaplain, Rev. Edwin S. Lines. Mr. Ernest E. Rogers, President of the "Nathan Hale" branch of the Connecticut Society, delivered the address of welcome. The president of the society, Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, grandson of Governor Trumbull of the Revolution, replied to the address, and delivered the keys of the school-house to the "Daughters." Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, State Regent of the Connecticut "Daughters of the American Revolution," accepted them in behalf of the Lucretia Shaw Chapter at New London. Hon. Walter S. Logan, of New York, President-General of the National Society of the "Sons of the American Revolution," followed with an address, and Professor H. P. Johnston read an historical paper. A bronze tablet in the school-house was unveiled by young Nathan Hale, a great-great-grandchild of Enoch Hale, Nathan's brother. The New London school-house now stands on the grounds of the "Ancientist Burial Place" in the city. Both buildings will be depositories of Colonial and Revolutionary relics.





NOTES

PLACE OF HALE'S CAPTURE.

The supposition that Hale was captured at Huntington was probably based on Hempstead's statement that the captain said he should return to that place. At that time, however, he assumed that the British were still on the Long Island side of the East River, and that such return would be safest and quickest. With the enemy on the New York side the problem changed, as it involved a longer route and the difficulty of crossing the river. The first account of Hale's capture appears in Thompson's "History of Long Island," Vol. II, p. 475. He places it at Huntington and depends on traditions. Stuart followed him on the same lines but with more details, or rather traditions, all of which he does not accept. Both have Hale captured by the crew of an English ship in open day. Lord Howe says that he was apprehended at night. The Huntington story, also, introduces a Tory cousin of Hale's as his betrayer. This tradition Stuart himself demolished, and we may reject it. In Onderdonk's "Revolutionary Incidents," an old man, S. Wooden, is said to have had the account of the capture from some of the boat's crew, and another, R. Townsend, heard Captain Quarme, of the *Halifax*, speak of the event. But the ship's log puts her "off Whitestone Point" on the 20th, and off "Citty Isl^d" on the 21st, her tenders, the *Kitty* and the *Swift*, being with her. The Huntington theory is thus discredited by the record. Later in the war the *Halifax* was stationed at Huntington, where suspected persons were occasionally taken up and sent to New York. Hale's capture may have been confounded with some after incident.

The weight of evidence is in favor of New York or vicinity as the place of capture. We need but a line or two of some officer's report, or from a letter from the enemy's camp, or from Howe's headquarters papers to establish the point. Such proof may come to light at any moment. The writer's searches have not met with success as yet.

PLACE OF HALE'S EXECUTION.

As stated in the text, we put this at Turtle Bay — an entirely new site. After discovering Howe's order, Mr. Kelby (p. 112, n.) located the Artillery Park near the Dove Tavern at Sixty-sixth Street and Third Avenue. The present writer followed him in referring to the site in his "Battle of Harlem Heights." Further search, however, shows that there were *two* artillery parks—the first one being at Turtle Bay. No reference to a park at the tavern appears until October 6th. The other is mentioned in the orderly-books as "the artillery near headquarters" or the "Artillery at Turtle Bay." It is important to notice that Hale sat in Captain Montessor's quarters while the provost-marshal was making ready for the execution. Those quarters were near the Turtle Bay artillery. Hull says Montessor witnessed the execution, which would take him but a short distance from his tent. The old colonial camp in that vicinity was undoubtedly the site — not the later Dove Tavern park. See map and order of execution among the illustrations.

CAPTAINS MONTRESSOR, HULL AND POND.

The British officer, Montessor, through whom Hale's last words reach us, had been in the engineer service in America for several years before the Revolution. He lived in New York and surveyed the city and harbor. His knowledge of the ground would make him a valuable man at British headquarters, and on August 14, 1776, Howe appointed him "aide camp to the commander in chief." On September 22d his quarters, of course, would be close to the Beekman mansion. Enoch Hale states in his diary that this officer brought the first news of Nathan's death to the American lines, but misspells the name as "Montezuxe." There are several other references to him — an interesting one appearing in a letter from a Lieutenant Richardson, September 24, 1776: "We learn by Montessor who told it to General Putnam on Sunday (Sept. 22), while he was here with a flag of Truce & Genl. Putnam since has

told me that during the fire they caught a number of our people who they had prisoners & threw them into the Flames . . . & yesterday they caught the Captain of a Company of Rangers & hung him immediately for a spy." — *Penn. Mag. Hist.*, Vol. XVI, p. 204.

John Montross (Chief Eng.)

Captain William Hull, who learned of Hale's fate and had his last words from Montross, became one of the most distinguished officers of his grade in the Continental army. He rose to the command of a regiment. As far as they go, both Howe's orders and Enoch Hale's diary confirm what he says in Hannah Adams' history (see p. 100, n.) and his own memoirs. He seems to have taken special pains to hand down the circumstances of the case as accurately as possible. The accepted form of Hale's last words (p. 126) is the earliest form as Hull received them from Montross.

Wm. Hull (Lieut. Comdr.)

Captain Charles Pond (p. 104) continued on duty with the *Schuyler* in the Sound until December, 1777, when the sloop was captured off Huntington with part of Colonel S. B. Webb's expedition to Long Island. Later he commanded the *Lady Spencer*; then, resigning from his regiment in 1779, he took charge of the *New Defence*, which in 1780 surrendered after a desperate action at sea. On the captain's gravestone at Milford he is described as "Liberty's friend."

HALE'S CAPTURE OF A SLOOP (ante, p. 82).

Stuart describes this alleged exploit and introduces a picture of it. Heath, who noticed everything in his memoirs, makes no mention of the incident. It is said to have occurred in the East River, but the *Asia* moved out of the river the day Hale arrived in New York and then fell down to the Narrows. On May 31st General Putnam wrote to Washington that "our troops have taken a small sloop for going on board the *Asia*." This occurred at Far Rockaway — a minor affair where the sloop's crew was seized for trying to smuggle provisions to the British ships. Hale says nothing of the exploit in his letter to Enoch about that

date. It is true that Marvin wrote to Hale, June 11th, that he was obliged "for your particular history of the adventure aboard the prize." This may not necessarily mean that he was personally concerned in it.

HALE'S CROSSING FROM NORWALK.

Enoch Hale states that his brother crossed the Sound from Stamford. Hempstead says Norwalk, and he has been followed as being Hale's attendant. Enoch obtained his information in camp near White Plains, at a time in October when Hempstead was with the Rangers above Harlem. He could not have seen him then, or he would have given the substance of conversations with him in his diary. The sloops were at Norwalk.

HALE'S ENGAGEMENT (ante, p. 51).

About two years after the death of his first wife, or on June 13, 1769, Hale's father, Mr. Richard Hale, married again, his second wife being Abigail Adams, widow of Captain Samuel Adams, of Canterbury, near Coventry. Presently two of the widow's daughters were introduced into the family, one of whom, Sarah, was married, December 19, 1771, to John Hale, elder brother to Nathan. The other was Alice, or Alicia, Adams, who had previously been adopted by her uncle in Canterbury. She occasionally visited her mother, now Mrs. Richard Hale, with the result that Deacon Hale insisted on her remaining with them permanently. This was about the year 1770-71, Alice being in her fifteenth year, and Nathan a sophomore at college. It was not long before two of the unmarried brothers formed a strong attachment for her, with Nathan as the favored one. Alice and Nathan corresponded while he was in college, but the mother interrupted this on account of their youth. That Deacon Hale objected to Alice as another daughter-in-law from the Adams side of the house is stated on good authority to be a mistake; on the contrary, he wished it, probably recognizing the young girl's fine qualities. At the age of sixteen Alice was prevailed upon by her mother and sister to marry Mr. Elijah Ripley, of Coventry, a worthy man much her senior. He died December 26, 1774, while Hale was teaching at New London. It will be noticed that when Robinson and Tallmudge (p. 51) were sounding Hale on his particular attraction at the time, Alice was Mrs. Ripley. She could not have been the person. Some time later, while he was in the service, Nathan and the now widow Alice revived their old affection and became engaged. After Nathan's death, Alice resolved to remain

single, refusing several offers. She lived a widow seven years, when her estate became involved, and an unwelcome outlook was before her. Through the introduction of a friend at this time she became acquainted with Mr. William Lawrence, of Hartford, son of the treasurer of Connecticut, by whom her affairs were settled in an offer of marriage. She accepted him, and lived to have children and grandchildren about her. It is from the papers of one of the latter, the late Miss Alicia Sheldon, of Hartford, that the above facts are derived. For the extracts and other information the writer is indebted to Mr. John Habberton, of New York, himself related by marriage to Miss Sheldon's family.

It is pleasant to know that there still lives in Hartford, as a connecting link between Hale's personal friendships and his restored memory of to-day, the venerable Mr. Henry A. Stillman, who well remembers "Alice Adams." Through associations with the family in his earlier years he frequently saw her. To the writer he says: "She was a smart, pretty, lovely old lady in 1830, when I began to call on her. Many and many a time I talked with her about Nathan Hale. She, with tears in her eyes, told of his noble character and fine talents and personal appearance. . . . I never saw her that she was not bright and sparkling. . . . Happy as she was in her second marriage, she never forgot Nathan Hale." She once possessed an ivory miniature of Hale, but it long ago disappeared. Her last words are given in three forms: "Tell Nathan," "Write to Nathan," "Where is Nathan?" Stuart has an appreciative notice of her. The only reference to the Adams family to be found in Hale's few remaining papers is the mention, in his letter to Enoch, June 3, 1776, of Alice's brother Joseph. He calls him "our brother Joseph Adams," and proposes to get him into his company. If there were any correspondence between Alice and Nathan while he was at Camp Winter Hill in 1775, he kept all reference to it out of his diary.

Alicia Lawrence

HALE AND THE LINONIAN SOCIETY (ante, p. 32).

Stuart gives extracts from Hale's address to Linonia. It may be found in full at the Yale Library. He was then just entering senior year and the address was a farewell to the preceding class, whose valedictory was delivered by Elisha Billings. Being newly fledged graduates, Hale ad-

dresses them as "Kind Sirs," and expresses the society's sorrow at their departure. "It is with the greatest reluctance," he says, "we are all now obliged to bid a last adieu to you, our dearest friends. Fain would we ask you longer to tarry, but it is otherwise determined, and we must comply. Accept, then, our sincerest thanks, as some poor return for your disinterested zeal in Linonia's cause, and your unwearied pains to suppress her opposers. . . . Be assured that we shall be spirited in Linonia's interests, and with steadiness and resolution strive to make her shine with unparalleled lustre." Old graduates of the college will understand the allusion in the expression of our belief that Hale would have made an excellent "Statement of Facts" orator. Records at the university do not bear out the supposition that Hale was one of the founders of Linonia's library. It existed before his time. Of the early volumes on its shelves, including such as Hale may have contributed, few if any remain. Benjamin Tallmadge belonged to the new rival society, "The Brothers in Unity," but his friendship for Hale was undisturbed. In the Connecticut Historical Society there is a letter from him, written in college, showing that he sought Hale's criticism on some production of his. Tallmadge's autograph below is from a note he wrote Hale when they were both teaching school.

— I have only time
to subscribe myself your real friend
Benjamin Tallmadge
Wethersfield. July 4th 1774 —

ENOCH HALE AND NEWS OF NATHAN'S FATE.

Enoch's diary, quoted in the text, was first published by his grandson, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, as an appendix to his address on "Hale Memorial Day" at Groton, Connecticut, September 7, 1881. The following are the entries referring to first reports of his brother's death: "September 30. Afternoon. Ride to Rev. Strong's [his uncle], Salmon Brook [Ct.]. Hear a rumor that Capt. Hale, belonging to the east side of Connecticut River, near Colchester, who was educated at College, was sentenced to hang in the enemy's lines at New York, being taken as a spy, or reconnoitering their camp. Hope it is without foundation.

Something troubled at it. Sleep not very well. . . . October 15. Get a pass to ride to New York. . . . Accounts from my brother Captain are indeed melancholy! That about the second week of September, he went to Stamford, crossed to Long Island (Dr. Waldo writes), and had finished his plans, but before he could get off, was betrayed, taken, and hanged without ceremony. . . . Some entertain hope that all this is not true, but it is a gloomy, dejected hope. Time may determine. Conclude to go to the camp next week." See pp. 114-115 for further reference.

HALE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It appears that Mr. Cyrus P. Bradley, of Hanover, New Hampshire, proposed writing a biography of Hale as early as 1835, Mr. Jasper Gilbert, of Coventry, having assisted him in collecting material. In 1836, Mr. I. Holbrook, of Norwich, Connecticut, expressed the same intention. The first contribution in print was an address on Nathan Hale delivered by Hon. Andrew T. Judson before the South Coventry Hale Monument Association. It was published at Norwich in 1837. A memoir of Hale, supposed to be written by J. S. Babcock, of Coventry, was published at New Haven in 1844. A drama, in five acts, on the death of Hale, written for the above association by David Trumbull, was issued at Hartford in 1845. Then came "Life of Captain Nathan Hale, the Martyr-Spy of the American Revolution. By I. W. Stuart. [Two editions.] Hartford, 1856." In 1857 appeared "The American Spy, or Freedom's Early Sacrifice," by J. R. Simms. B. F. Lossing's "Two Spies of the American Revolution—Hale and André" came later, published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. Rev. E. E. Hale's address on Hale memorial day, September 7, 1881, at Groton, Connecticut, was published the same year, by request, by A. S. Williams & Co., Boston. "Nathan Hale, the Martyr-Hero," by Charlotte M. Halloway, was published by F. F. Neely in 1899. In the same year appeared "Nathan Hale, the Martyr-Spy," by Charles W. Brown, published by J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., New York. In addition, many newspaper and magazine articles have appeared on Hale; also addresses before patriotic societies. There are sketches of and references to Hale in Thompson's "History of Long Island," Onderdonk's "Revolutionary Incidents," Sparks' "Life and Treason of Arnold," Johnston's "Yale in the Revolution," etc.

HALE'S SACRIFICE

FULL stern was his doom, but full firmly he died,
No funeral or bier they made him,
Not a kind eye wept, nor a warm heart sighed,
O'er the spot all unknown where they laid him.

He fell in the spring of his early prime,
With his fair hopes all around him ;
He died for his birth-land — “ a glorious crime ” —
Ere the palm of his fame had crowned him.

He fell in her darkness — he lived not to see
The morn of her risen glory ;
But the name of the brave, in the hearts of the free,
Shall be twined in her deathless story.

BY J. S. BABCOCK, COVENTRY, 1844.



— AND —
JUST BEFORE HE EXPIRED
HE SAID ALOUD —
I AM SO SATISFIED
WITH THE CAUSE IN WHICH
I HAVE ENGAGED THAT
I ONLY REGRET
THAT I HAVE BUT ONE
LIFE TO LOSE
IN ITS SERVICE.

Finis

Variation of Hale's Last Word , 1791



INDEX

- Adams, Abigail**, 201 ; Sarah, 201
Adams, Alice, engaged to Hale, 52, 201
Alden, Roger, 29, 33, 40, 47, 70, 88 ; letter from, 157
Allen, Capt. Thomas, 138
André, Maj., 120 ; and Tallmadge, 128
Asia, ship, and Hale, 82, 199
Atwater, Thomas, New Haven, 31
Babcock, J. S., of Coventry, on Hale, 49
Beekman, James, mansion, 77 ; Howe's Headquarters, 116 ; Hale near, 116, 118, 122, 124
Belcher, John, letter to Hale, 165
Belden, Samuel, 138
Bibliography of Hale, 204
Bunker Hill, 9 ; Hale near, 65, 66
Chadwick, Capt. Chas., 138
Christophers, Betsey, 69, 73 ; Hale's letter to, 140
Church, Dr. Benjamin, treason and arrest, 152-153
Church, Silas, 138
Coit, Capt., 59 ; Dr. Thomas, 138
Connecticut, in Lexington alarm, 54 ; 59, 60
Coventry, Hale's birthplace, 11 ; 54, 55, 115 ; monument at, 194
Crocker, Capt. John, 138
Cunningham, William, provost-marshal, 119, cruelty to Hale, 120, 124
Davenport, John, 23, 31, 33
Deshon, Capt. Richard, 138
Dove Tavern, artillery camp, 127, 199
Dwight, Timothy, Hale's instructor, 23-24 ; appreciation of him, 32 ; tribute from, in "Conquest of Canaan," 130 ; letter to Hale, 162
East Haddam, Hale's school at, 40, 41, 42, 51, 196
Fosdick, Sergeant, 86 ; Hale on, 146 ; letter to Hale, 158
"Gazette," New London, quotations from, 55-58
Gibson, Roger, 138

- Green, Timothy, engages Hale as teacher, 43, 44; 138; letter from, 151
- Hale, Billy, 16, 149; David, 16; Joanna, 16; John, 9, 16, 54, 81, 115; Jonathan, 16; Joseph, 16, 54; Richard, Hale's father, 10, 14-16, 28; letters from, 147; Robert, 8; Samuel, 10, 16, 37; Hale to, 135; Susanna, 16
- Hale, Enoch, 16, 20; in college, 21, 29; schoolmaster, 40; 49; preacher, 81; Nathan's fate, 114; letter from, 149; diary, 203
- Hale, Nathan, headstone inscription, 4; ancestry, 8-15; birth, 16; home life, 15-21; prepares for college, 19-21; at Yale, 22-35; instructors of, 23; father's advice, 27; studies, 29; societies and honors, 30-32; commencement day, 33; personal description of, 35; Dr. Munson's tribute, 36; visits his uncle, 37; the ministry, 38; schoolmaster, 39; at East Haddam, 40; at New London, 43-47; as a teacher, 48-49; friends at New London, 50; engagement, 51, 201; the Revolution, 54; New London speech, 58; not in Lexington alarm, 59; joins the army, 60; resigns school, 61; recruits men, 62; marches to Boston, 63; at Camp Winter Hill, 65-74; marches to New York, 76; camp on Grand Street, 79; Declaration of Independence, 80; Tories, 80; sloop adventure, 82, 200; Long Island battle, 84-85; friends in service, 86-88; army anxieties, 90-91; Washington and spies, 92; joins the Rangers, 94-96; absent from Harlem battle, 97; the spy question, 98; seeks Hull's advice, 99; Hale's high views, 100-101; starts for British lines, 102; at Norwalk, 103; crosses the Sound, 104-105; disguised as spy, 105; at Huntington, L. I., 106; dangers in the lines, 108-110; examines enemy's works, 110; British order on his capture, 111; where taken, 112-115; at Beekman place, 116; examined and sentenced, 117; admissions, 117-118; in provost-marshal's hands, 119-120; place of execution, 121-122, 197; executed, 122, 198; dying words, 124-126; Washington and retaliation, 127; André and Hale, 128; Dwight's tribute to, 129-130; Hale's letters, 133-146; letters to, 147-162; diary, 166; tributes to, 188; memorials of, 194; bibliography, 204
- Halifax*, brig, 104, 112, 198
- Hallam, John, to Hale, 158
- Harlem Heights, battle of, 96, 110
- Harvard College graduates, 9, 10, 45
- Heath, Gen., 76, 77, 79, 93
- Hempstead, Sergeant, with Hale, 102, 105, 115
- Hillhouse, James, Hale's classmate, 161
- Howe, Joseph, Hale's instructor, 23
- Howe, Lord, evacuates Boston, 75; at New York, 83; battle of Long Island, 84; new position, 90; at Beekman's, 116; sentences Hale, 117; order on, 111; 118, 125
- Hubbard, Capt. Russell, 138
- Hull, Capt., Hale's friend, 61, 67; 88; counsels Hale, 100; hears of his fate, 114; noticed, 154, 156, 160, 163, 172, 199
- Huntington, Rev. Joseph, Hale's pastor, 20, 43

- Huntington, L. I., Hale lands at 103-105; 107, 112; supposed capture there, 198
- Hurlbut, Ensign, 86; letter to Hale, 160
- Independence, 57; Hale on, 58; declared, 80, 172
- Knowlton, Col., organizes Rangers, 94-95; Hale joins, 95; conversations with Hale, 97-98; death of, 96
- Latimer, Robert, to Hale, 162
- Law, Richard, 138
- Lawrence, William, 52
- Lexington alarm, 53; Hale and, 59
- Linonian Society, Hale's membership, 30, 32; address to, 201
- Long Island, battle of, 84
- McDougall, Gen., Hale in brigade of, 85
- Marvin, Elihu, 33, 40, 47, 70, 88; letters to Hale, 160, 163
- Mead, Thomas, Hale to, 133
- Mellaly, Capt. Michael, 138
- Montessor, Capt., aide to Howe, 114; brings word of Hale's fate, 114, 118; notice of, 199
- Moodus. See *East Haddam*
- Mumford, Capt. David, 138
- Mumford, Capt. Robinson, 138
- Mumford, Capt. Thomas, 138
- Munson, Dr., Hale's friend, 36, 47, 62; Hale to, 137
- New London, Hale teaches at, 41, 50, 54-55, 58, 62, 69, 76; excitement at, 158-160
- New York, Hale in camp at, 76-88; captured in, 114; executed at, 111-112
- Norwalk, Hale crosses from, to L. I., 103-104; 201
- Packwood, Capt. William, 138; Capt. Joseph, 138
- Peters, Rev. Samuel, and Sons of Liberty, 55
- Pond, Capt. Charles, takes Hale to Huntington, 103-104; 200
- Poole, Elizabeth, recollections of Hale, 103-104
- Putnam, Gen., 68, 94, 114; meets Montessor, 199
- Quarme, Capt., of the *Halifax*, 104-105, 113, 198
- Richards, John, 138; Capt. Guy, 138
- Robinson, William, 34, 40, 42, 47-49, 51; letter to Hale, 150
- Rutgers' orchard, and Hale's execution, 121
- Saltonstall, Dudley, 69, 73
- Saltonstall, Gilbert, Hale's correspondent, 50, 87; letters from, with New London items, 152
- Saltonstall, Winthrop, 138
- Schools, Hale describes the one at New London, 136-137
- Schuyler*, sloop, Hale crosses in, 103-104; fate of, 200
- Selden, Ezra, 88; letter to Hale, 164
- Shaw, Nathaniel, Jr., 138
- Sherman, Roger, 28
- Spencer, Gen., 68, 74, 143
- Spies, employment of, 92
- Stewart, Duncan, 138
- Strong, Elder John, Hale's ancestor, 14; Joseph, 14, 19, 87; Elizabeth, Hale's grandmother, 13-14; his mother, 13, 17, 19; Nathan, 19, 23-24, 49, 87
- Sullivan, Gen., Hale in brigade of, 63, 143

- Tallmadge, Benjamin, 20, 34, 40, 51, 87; to André on Hale, 128; note from, 203
- Tilghman, Col., Tories and retaliation for Hale, 127
- Tisdale, Nathan, schoolmaster, 45, 49
- Tracy, Phineas, of Norwich, 151
- Trumbull, Gov., 39, 45, 63
- Trumbull, John, 23, 41
- Turtle Bay, New York, place of Hale's execution, 77, 121-123, 199
- Union School, New London, Hale's, 43, 45, 49, 196
- Washington, Gen., 57; at Boston, 63; Hale joins his army, 65; at New York, 74, 77; defect in position there, 77; defeat on Long Island, 84-85; anxieties, 89-93; employment of spies, 92; consults with Knowlton, 97; instructions to Hale, 101, n., 102, 104, 114; disturbed by Hale's fate, 126; retaliation, 127
- Webb, Col. Charles, of Hale's regiment, 61, 71, 87
- Webb, Col. Samuel B., aide to Washington, information about Hale, 114, 200
- Webster, Noah, on school exercises, 41
- Winter Hill, camp at, 65-75
- Winthrop, John, 138
- Wright, Asher, Hale's waiter, 115, 145
- Wyllys, John P., 33, 88
- Yale College, Hale enters, 21; described, 24-27; Hale's commencement at, 33







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